A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Who is not tried in Lyons?

NEW TIMES

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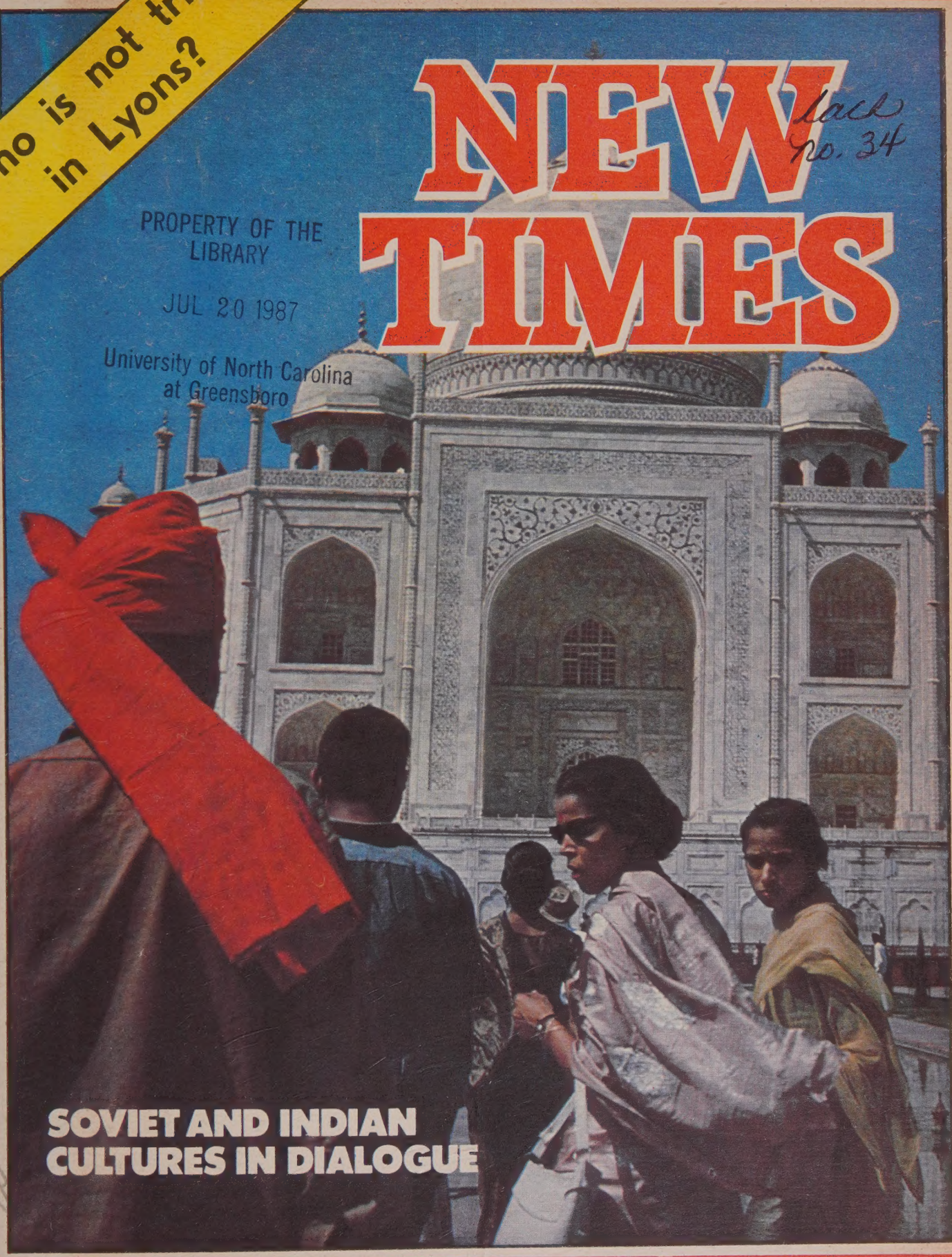

SOVIET AND INDIAN CULTURES IN DIALOGUE

HUNGARIAN MARKETPLACE: A HORN OF PLENTY

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JERUSALEM CRUCIFIED

1917–1987

TIME AND PEOPLE

In 1906, the Russian popular science magazine Education Newsletter estimated that it would take the peoples of Central Asia three to four thousand years to eradicate illiteracy. Even mattocks—local peasants' primitive land tilling implements—used to come from Scandinavia thousands of kilometres away. Soviet power set itself the task of levelling up the development standards of all the peoples and ethnic groups in the country.

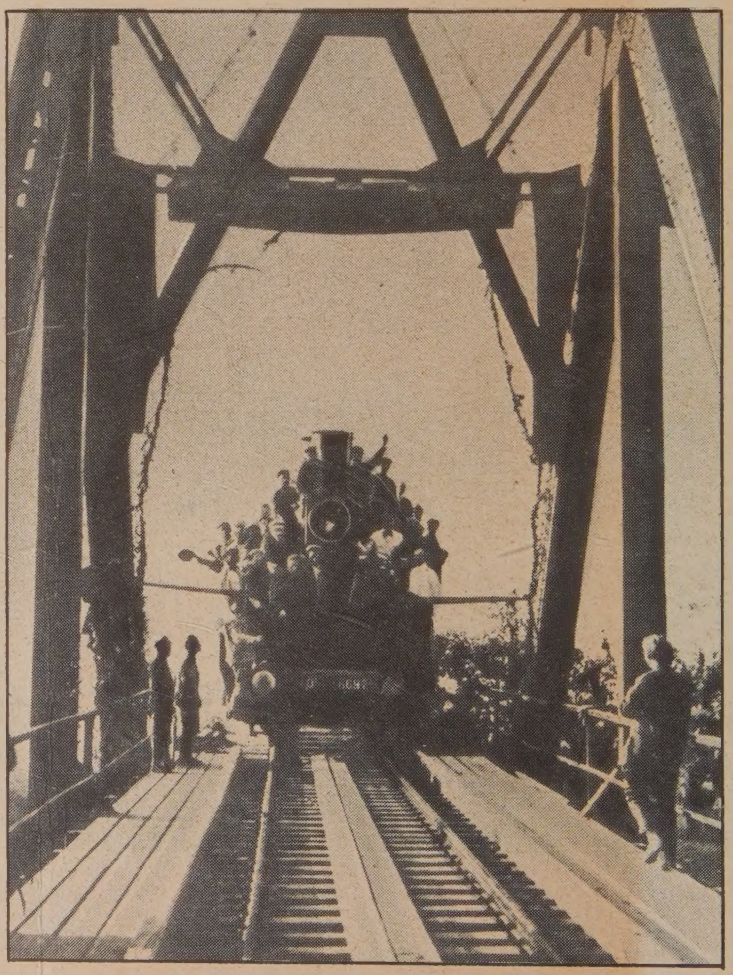
In the early thirties, the Karaganda miners wrote a letter to their Donbass counterparts saying: "As you know, we are building coal mines in our national republic, a former tsarist colony, without any machines, and the going is hard. It is not surprising, then, that we are calling on you, the Donbass proletarians, to send your shockworkers over to Karaganda and teach former Kazakh nomads how to mine coal. . . ."

The call for help was heeded. In 1931, five hundred skilled coalminers arrived in Karaganda from the Donbass, and several trainloads of equipment and materials were supplied.

Soviet power saved the peoples of the north from total extinction. Our leading linguists created alphabets for them. School textbooks were printed.

Before the revolution the Yakuts had no alphabet. In the thirties, books and newspapers were already published in their language.

The Turkestan-Siberia Railway, built in the first five-year-plan period, had an important role to play in overcoming the backwardness of Kazakhstan and Central Asia.



A SOVIET WEEKLY
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NEW TIMES

26

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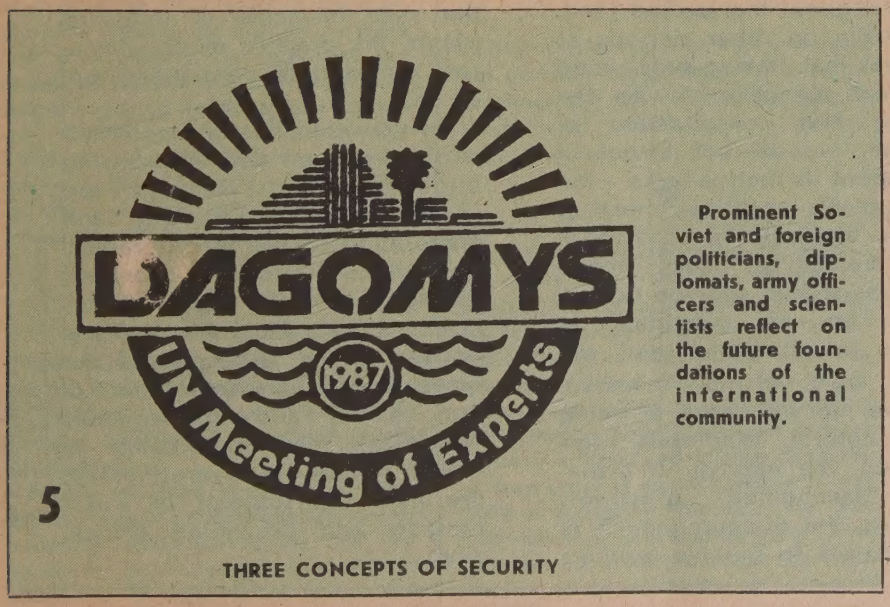

Prominent Soviet and foreign politicians, diplomats, army officers and scientists reflect on the future foundations of the international community.

5 THREE CONCEPTS OF SECURITY

NEW TIMES

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

My country has lately been swept by another wave of anti-Sovietism. To thwart Soviet efforts for disarmament and détente, it seems, anything goes. This time, you have been accused of spying on the Ariane rocket. the French mass media appear to have applied all their "genius" to making us "swallow" those lies. It has all been really disgusting.

LILIANE LACAZEDIEU
Lyons, France

I am certain that the American film "The Day After," which has been shown on Soviet television, has been seen by a great many people, including those with no interest in politics. The film - a warning - is of great emotional power, making one realize that in dealing with the issues of war and peace, political wisdom must be displayed not only by the leaders of our countries but also by those who are fairly remote from politics. I believe that such exchanges of cultural values make a tangible contribution to the cause of peace and détente and to setting the Soviet-U.S. relationship right.

V. PETRENKO
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Ordinary Spaniards are aware of the suffering and privations that have fallen to the lot of Nicaragua, a country that is upholding its freedom. When we hear on the radio that contra gangs are being given millions of dollars by their U.S. patrons to buy arms, it wrings our hearts with pain. We do not want to and must not sit on our hands: to help the Nicaraguan people in their righteous struggle, we have been sending them our modest donations through the ambassador of their country in Madrid.

DOLORES DE ABAD
Murcia, Spain

EDITORIAL

THE ECONOMY UNDER RECONSTRUCTION

A country's health depends on the state, dynamism and potential of its economy. Therefore, the idea of the reconstruction now in progress in the U.S.S.R. is to change over to new methods of economic management in order to strengthen the economy. The need for all this has been forcibly reaffirmed in the course of the recent elections to the local Soviets and in the electors' mandates to their candidates.

Let us now see what the reform involves. This information cannot but be of interest to anyone to whom the cause of socialism and the renovation and consolidation of the world's first worker and peasant state is dear.

For a variety of reasons, the sixties and seventies were socially and economically stagnant. This was due to authoritarian methods of management, emphasis on quantity as a criterion of success in production, failure adequately to exploit the achievements of scientific and technological progress, overcentralization in industry, planning errors and, of course, to an ill-adjusted economic management system that was wanting in both integrity and efficiency.

Nonetheless, our greatest failing throughout that period (and, incidentally, in other periods as well) was that, having proclaimed our great objectives to be the building and consolidation of socialism, we all but forgot at times about its motive force - the workingman's incentives, moral as well as material, to accomplish these objectives. Such moral incentives should provide opportunities for an individual to engage in congenial and satisfying work, display initiative, and give him the sense of being in real control. Wholesale regimentation, the practice of managerial "sanctioning" grassroots initiatives, the discouragement of any attempts to involve workers in decision-making gave rise to an apathy and indifference that impeded progress and, in the end, created enormous problems. Having identified the root causes of stagnation, our Party has applied itself, and mobilized the nation's efforts to perestroika.

Industrial plants - the mainstays of the economy - are assigned an ever more important role, and their status is being enhanced. A bill aimed at making industrial plants and amalgamations self-supporting, self-financing, and self-governing has been submitted for nationwide discussion. As a result, pay will be directly dependent on the work collective's performance, and each workingman will be given full scope for personal initiative.

"The reform," Mikhail Gorbachev told a recent conference at the CPSU Central Committee, "is a formidable and ambitious project. It won't come as easily as turning a page in a book or putting in another day at work."

The formidable scale of the job ahead can be judged from the fact that it will entail dealing, over a fairly brief period, with such problems as inadequate supplies of many goods, the production of poor-quality and therefore unwanted commodities, the state financing of industrial plants, the practice of manufacturers dictating to consumers, and so on.

As you read this, the country's most competent and enterprising businessmen and Communists are in the Kremlin discussing and elaborating criteria for the radical revolutionary reform of economic management. New thinking furnishes a theoretical and political answer to the challenge of our times. The further development of our country and its economic well-being, the importance of which cannot be overestimated, are now the subjects of wide-ranging and principled discussion.

Mikhail Gorbachev: peace is no utopia

As we approach the third millennium, it is incumbent upon us as members of the human race, to make a bold and sober assessment of a multitude of problems the solution of which are far from easy. These are the depletion of energy resources, famine, the stark poverty of tens and hundreds of millions of people, ecological troubles, which affect almost all countries; plus killer diseases, old and new. All these and other international problems are connected, in one way or another, with the task of removing the threat of a nuclear war. Outside the movement towards a nuclear-free and non-violent world there can be no human progress. Therein lies the key to meeting the challenges of our uneasy, dramatic yet hopeful time.

●

Your Congress is an impressive manifestation of the growing awareness by people in various countries of their personal involvement in current world developments.

People are tired of living in tense apprehension of a catastrophe. There is an increasing realization of the fact that danger can be averted only by stretching out hands to each other across the inevitable ideological, economic and political barriers dividing different states. And I am compelled to say that the idea of durable peace taking absolute precedence over everything else has a fuller, more emotional and more tangible meaning for women.

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The international women's movement has markedly stengthened the potential for peace and good will. It has made its voice heard, and become a political factor that cannot be disregarded.

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We believe in the success of our undertaking. Our society, which has held out in the heroic and grim struggle for survival in a hostile environment, and for the revolutionary transformation of a vast and backward country, is equal to the task. We realize, of course, that it is a very difficult task, calling for a reassessment of many aspects both of our past and our present, for bold and original decisions, a deep sense of responsibility and truly selfless endeavour. Much in our own mentality must be overcome, for, as I have already said on many previous occasions, we are all of us children of our time.

It is immoral to enthuse about scientific and technological progress while turning a blind eye to the fact that its fruits are enjoyed by only an infinitesimal proportion of the earth's population. Hundreds of millions of people do not have enough to eat, can neither read nor write, and often have no roof over their heads. And the most monstrous thing is that children die daily of malnutrition, disease, and abject want. And this at the end of the 20th century, the age of electronics and "green revolutions," of space flights and of truly unlimited possibilities for feeding, clothing and teaching billions of people. These possibilities are not merely being poorly and inadequately exploited. Imperialism is turning them against man.

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...Disarmament for progress, confidence and cooperation are the three concepts that can carry us into the future. There is no longer any alternative to them.

The realization of this is spreading both amongst ordinary people and in politically influential quarters. Moreover, it is being transmitted into active positions and organized action against the arms race,

and in support of concrete initiatives that make it possible to reach agreements aimed at reducing the threat of war. Action taken to remind governments of their responsibility develops into demonstrations of no-confidence in those who shirk their responsibility and continue to ignore present-day realities.

●

Let me put it this way: it is not the Soviet Union alone that needs a realistic policy. Such a policy is needed by all states, all nations, the Americans included. It presupposes, at the very least, a serious attitude to the other side's proposals, and an analysis of them aimed at establishing how constructive they are, and whether or not they take the partner's interests, public opinion and scientific opinion into account. Unfortunately, all we hear in response to our initiatives is either instant rejection, or dogmatic reiterations of old positions. Consequently, the policy of the other side is still wanting in realism. And this is a situation where the world needs, and demands, a policy of real action.

●

Guiding itself by new thinking, the Soviet Union is ordering its foreign policy in such a way as to stop the arms race, eliminate the nuclear threat and remedy the situation. On the other hand, the United States continues to place its faith in force of arms and expanding the sphere of military rivalry all the way to outer space.

●

...I told newsmen at a polling station that the U.S.S.R. would continue to take practical measures to break the deadlock over disarmament. We expect our Western partners likewise to do something about it rather than engage in devising more and more new demands on us to tax our patience.

Such is the situation now. Such are the words and deeds. It was my duty to tell you about this because any peace movement today must not digress from the specific quality the danger of war assumes at a given moment. This explains, incidentally, why professional organizations - those of scientists, doctors, retired servicemen - have come to have such weight in the scales of peace and war. Their competence has made them indispensable to the present alignment of forces.

●

The unprecedently representative and authoritative composition of your congress shows that women have taken up the cause of peace in earnest. And they are a great and inspiring force for creation and beauty.

This confirms us in our faith that peace is no utopia. And if we, the men and women of the earth, work vigorously and together, we shall certainly prevail. ■

Looking ahead to the future

The World Congress of Women sponsored by the Women's International Democratic Federation under the slogan "Toward 2000 — Without Nuclear Weapons! For Peace, Equality, Development" was held in Moscow on June 23-27. The 2,300 delegates, representing more than 800 national and international associations of different political orientation, debated crucial issues facing women the world over.

Our reporter Tatyana Firsova interviewed some of the participants.

Berit Vikhammer, a secondary school teacher from the Norwegian town of Hommelvik, brought along a bundle of children's drawings. One showed two hands clasped together in friendship, another a black boy and a blonde girl smiling at one another. Each drawing carries a slogan such as "Children, Let Us Halt War!" and "Peace All over the World!", while Liu Janet Johnsen had added in green pencil: "I'm 14 years old, I love peace!"

Children are the reflection of the adult world. Norwegian children have given us sunny drawings. However, it is up to the adults, indeed to all of us, to do everything in our power today to prevent the world becoming a heap of black ashes tomorrow.

"Evidently nature herself has endowed woman with responsibility for the future," said **Nina Baranova of the International Ravensbrück Committee.** "The future depends on what sort of people we bring up our children to be. I have seen for myself that many young people in Europe know little about the last war. Adults who want to expunge whole chapters of human history are to blame for that. The members of our committee, my fellow former inmates from the Ravensbrück concentration camp, are doing much to tell young people of the dangers of fascism. Now and again they experience difficulties, as such activities do not meet with official support in the West and they have to fight for the right to meet young people at schools or factories. However, they persevere as they realize what could happen if our children know nothing of fascism, or how to fight it. Among our members are not only former camp inmates but also their spouses, children and grandchildren. There are some young people who until recently have never heard anything about fascism. I was astounded by what occurred at a recent Moscow meeting of former inmates of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. One young woman, whose name and country of origin I have unfortunately forgotten, said literally the following. "All my life," she said, "my parents and the school I went to encouraged me never to ask about the last war. They never said anything about it in general and were very bitter about the Soviet Union, trying to get me and other young people to dislike it. However, now I am in Moscow among people who know about the horrors of war not by hearsay, but who experienced the most terrible ordeal in fascist imprisonment. I want to tell the children back home about it."

For nearly 30 years **Mayuree Balankura** worked as a pediatrician before becoming vice-president of a Medical School in Bangkok with the status of a university department.

"It is regrettable that in our country the health services are in a very bad way," she said. "It is the children who suffer most. In the provinces there are practically no child health services at all. And in the poor city neighbourhoods one epidemic follows another."

Mayuree tries to get her students to go out to work in the provinces, where they are needed most. She came to Moscow as a representative of the Thai Association of University Women, which was founded in 1948 and has in its membership Thai women working not only at home, but also abroad, provided that while there they contribute to national progress and prosperity.

When I asked Berit Vikhammer if her husband was socially involved, she said:

"Yes, he is, but to a much lesser extent than I am. After all, however active men may be, there are matters that only women should try to cope with, as nobody else can do it for us." ■

Experts from 25 countries met in Dagomys, a suburb of Sochi, within the framework of the U.N. World Disarmament Campaign. The meeting was jointly sponsored by the United Nations and the Soviet Peace Committee.

THREE CONCEPTS OF SECURITY

In search of a basis for international coexistence

...Someone mentioned the theatre. General Edward Rowny remarked that he had flown "over the theatre in a special plane." The theatre the general was referring to was the European theatre of operations....

This indication of the general's way of thought, which is also that of some civilian experts, is, if one stops to think, a logical outcome of the past few decades and a melancholy comment on our times. Fortunately, such stereotypes are today increasingly often confronted with a fresh approach.

The first impulse to this important confrontation was given by the Reykjavik summit, where the leaders of the two great powers came close to drafting the diplomatic formula that would ensure agreement on profound reductions in nuclear weapons, with their subsequent total abolition. Hence the theme of the Dagomys forum of experts: "After Reykjavik: Planning for the Nineties."

I had the opportunity of talking to many of the participants - experts on nuclear, conventional and space weapons. I put the same question to each person I talked to: "What do you understand by security? What should it be based on in our times?"

Most of the answers corresponded to one of the three versions of the concept of security in the 1990s, and there were also a few interesting views that corresponded to none of them. It is interesting to note that representatives of the same country aired entirely different views, while experts from different countries expressed similar views.

SDI (American version)

Lieutenant General Daniel Graham, director of the lobby group High Frontier, author of the space defence project, former chief of Defence Intelligence Agency, U.S. Department of Defence.

SDI should be regarded as a switch in American strategy from a strategy based on deterrence, on an annihilating reprisal, to a strategy designed to defend ourselves, he said. SDI is not a strategy of dead Russians and live Americans. The United States has become vulnerable to nuclear weapons and must use the most modern technology to defend itself. That technology is space technology, a technological revolution of sorts. It is inevitable. If space facilities provide a better defence, I fail to understand why it is necessary to cling to land-based defences.

SDI is not a long-drawn out research programme - in that I disagree with the stand taken by the U.S. government. I am against any agreement on research in this field. SDI is the basis of our security for many years to come. It is the best way of using non-nuclear means to stop nuclear missiles. The Soviet Union, incidentally, has always relied on defence. As I understand it, what I am now suggesting is what the Soviet Union has suggested all along. At present the United States possesses only an offensive potential. We are prepared to deal a retaliatory strike even from our graves. Of course, no defence can be foolproof, but the most reliable defence can be built using space facilities. That would provide defence against the most destructive of weapons - ground-based ballistic missiles. Then one could start thinking about a 50 per cent cut, I mean, in the ballistic missiles of the two sides. Other weapons would in the meantime be retained.

I welcome the Warsaw Treaty countries' desire to shift the emphasis in their European doctrine to defence. Why not do the same in the strategic field - switch from the doctrine of guaranteed mutual destruction to a doctrine of mutual guaranteed defence.

Ambassador Edward Rowny, Rt. Lieutenant General, special adviser to the U.S. President and Secretary of State for arms control.

SDI, in general, cannot be described as a weapon. It is a defence system. The U.S. government seeks arms control and a reduction in armaments. We seek only those kinds of agreement that will strengthen our security and that of our allies. The term "arms race in space" is wholly inappropriate. We shall be prepared substantially to reduce armaments simultaneously with the deployment of defence systems in space.

I believe that in keeping with the formula discussed in Reykjavik we have suggested a suitable compromise: to

refrain for seven years from deploying our system in space and at the same time negotiate a cut in nuclear weapons. In that connection I should like to stress the importance of a global view of peace. We can't simply cut back missiles in Europe, while leaving those in Asia intact. We must carefully consider the problem of conventional forces, so that after having cut nuclear ones we do not find the world a safer place for waging war by conventional means. Nor should chemical weapons be forgotten. I repeat, we must look at the problem of security right across the board. And, lastly, the main thing. We shall not achieve security and solve the arms problem unless we eliminate the sources of distrust which engender all other problems. I would list the four "pillars" on which our relations are built in the following order: regional problems; bilateral relations - opening of consulates, people-to-people exchanges; human rights; arms control.

Nuclear deterrence (West European version)

Ludger Buerstedde, chief of the division for security, disarmament and arms control in Europe, Foreign Ministry of the F.R.G.

I still see nuclear deterrence as the basis of security, though, perhaps at a lower level of confrontation. The very absence of any wars in Europe over the past few decades bears this out. The bloc structure also tends to stabilize the situation. In my opinion, the Warsaw Treaty has immense deterrent potential. Probably you think the same about NATO. But these perceptions of each other are a political reality.

The latest statement on military doctrine by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization gives rise to certain hopes. We also welcomed the statement of the Warsaw Pact countries that they are prepared to discuss asymmetry in the armed forces of the two sides in Europe. In general, in view of the possibility of agreement on nuclear weapons on the continent, the question of conventional forces assumes special significance. In this context, we in the F.R.G. take a positive view of the success of the Stockholm conference on confidence and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

James Dougherty, Professor of Politics at St. Joseph's University (U.S.A.).

I'm a political scientist. From my point of view, the military aspects of security weigh heavily on all, or practically all, governments. This applies in particular to the industrially developed countries. But times change. The very existence of nuclear weapons has forced its possessors to treat East-West problems in such a way as to avoid nuclear war. In the industrial part of the world economic factors, welfare of the people and environmental problems are taking a higher place in the list of priorities. I would warn against the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, as I fear that that could bring back the old ways of thought.

But I do support a considerable cutback in nuclear arsenals - as much as 90 per cent or more, because what now exists is many times more than is needed as a deterrent, and therefore the chances of a nuclear war breaking out by accident are very high. I even think it probable that the nuclear deterrent will be replaced some time by a deterrent based on conventional weapons. The latest technology has brought them qualitatively close to nuclear arms. However, neither politicians nor the general public are fully aware of the might of conventional weapons.

Nuclear arms have played their part. They have changed the whole nature of international politics. Until now the role of the military was to wage and win wars. Nowadays it is to prevent wars. Not for nothing is Western Europe convinced today that if all nuclear weapons are removed from the continent, its security will be in jeopardy. That is why at this meeting of ours the most vehement supporters of the nuclear deterrent were the representatives of West European countries.

Nevertheless, in my opinion, a combination of conventional defence systems, firm and verifiable disarmament agreements, and expanding East-West cooperation could be turned into the equivalent of today's deterrents. Incidentally, control and verification are now simpler. Control we could not have dreamt of ten years ago is now feasible. We possess sophisticated technical facilities, and the flow of information between people and personal contacts are expanding. The world is becoming increasingly mutually dependent.

Two views from the sidelines

Fan Guoxiang, the Chinese envoy at the disarmament conference.

In today's world questions of security are, undoubtedly, integral to the problems of war and peace, on the one hand, and the problems of development, on the other. Peace and development are the two main issues facing mankind. Security is important for every country, because without it there can be no confidence in the future, no belief that you will be building your state in an atmosphere of peace. As I see it, security should be founded on normal relations between countries, on the five principles of peaceful coexistence recognized by my country and in many respects coinciding with the principles laid down in the U.N. Charter. They presuppose that all countries respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The security of one country is that country's own responsibility, but it cannot be divorced from the security of other nations. Security cannot be ensured by invading a third country. It cannot be something outside the territory of a given country. The world has now become a much smaller place. The system of security for our planet that we are all trying to build could also be founded on multilateral agreements on disarmament, such as an agreement on the peaceful use of space, and others. It is hard for me to speak of bilateral agreements like the ABM treaty. I would not wish to take either the Soviet or the American side. At the same time I firmly believe that agreements should be abided by. Efforts should be concentrated on all negotiations on disarmament, and not just on medium-range missiles or other specific issues.

Julio Cesar Carasales, ambassador, special adviser to the Secretary of State for International Relations, Disarmament Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Argentina.

In our times when the major powers can intervene in affairs in any part of the world, and strategic nuclear weapons exist, there is no such thing as regional security. One can only speak of global security.

Perhaps it was this new situation that prompted the leaders of six countries from five continents to come out with their initiative in the field of arms limitation. In this way we expressed not only the viewpoint of the Third World, but also that of the majority of people on the planet. What troubles us most at present are nuclear tests and the possibility of an arms race being unleashed in space. At this meeting experts from many countries have expressed satisfaction with our initiatives.

In the group of U.N. experts I studied the problems of deterrence. I think

a nuclear deterrent also signifies the possibility of dealing a first strike. If a country recognizes the right of another country or group of countries to choose what they believe to be the best means of defence, it should not forget that if their choice falls on nuclear weapons then they are threatening not only the enemy, but the rest of the world as well.

The present doctrine of nuclear deterrence makes us all hostage to a situation that could arise accidentally or through someone's carelessness anywhere in the world. What could replace this deterrence? Perhaps a deterrence based on conventional arms? At least temporarily. This does not mean that conventional weapons should be encouraged, they can already cause colossal harm - the only difference being that this harm will be limited to the countries directly involved in the conflict.

One further point. Our world could be made a safer place by a system of consecutive agreements. They could, in the final count, compel the groups of states confronting each other to renounce the odious deterrence.

Universal and all-embracing

Colonel General Nikolai Chervov, head of department at the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Can the "new defence strategy," as American experts have described SDI, become the basis of international security? In my opinion, this looks absurd. At present there are no weapons in space - neither Soviet, nor American - and there should be none.

If the SDI programme is implemented, the risk of nuclear war will increase. Why? Because, the programme envisages the development of offensive space weapons. Weapons deployed in space could blind another country and destroy satellites that are important to it. They have a range of up to 5,000 kilometres, and are therefore universal, capable of destroying targets in space and, from space, on earth.

If the SDI programme is implemented, important treaties will be undermined, first and foremost the ABM treaty, the basis of Soviet-American relations and international security. In such circumstances the Soviet side will not be able to cut back its strategic offensive weapons.

While advertising the defence advantages of their programme, the American representatives remain silent about the consequences that would ensue from the deployment of weapons in space. The Soviet Union has an anti-missile defence system - exactly the kind that is permitted by the ABM treaty. It has its only permitted ABM defence system around Moscow, while the United States has one round one of its ground ballistic missile bases. All the American radar stations are operational. Anti-missile missiles and their launchers have been mothballed. But the treaty covers them too. Suppose I have a ruble in my pocket, and you have one in the bank. What difference is there? It's strange to hear American experts maintaining that we have a defence system, and they don't. They have one, and so do we. In its present form everything is in keeping with the ABM treaty.

The question of the relationship between strategic offensive weapons and defensive weapons is a basic issue on which reaching agreement depends. We agreed on that with the American side when we were still drafting the ABM treaty.

The White House prefers to speak of the research aspects of the SDI programme. Well, in this field, too, there are points on which we agree. First. At the talks we took a step forward towards the American position and explained how we understand a research programme. It means the research and testing of components of the SDI programme at research institutes and factories, at testing grounds and, most important of all, in stationary conditions. We are against testing weapons in space. That is banned by the ABM treaty, and we should like both sides to abide by this ruling. Second. We suggested: let us specify what can be deployed in space and what can't. In other words, determine permitted and not permitted activities in the field of ABM, as provided for by the treaty.

One simple example. Lasers now exist in space both on military and civilian satellites as means of communication. They can be used, for example, for research on Mars. But at a certain point lasers become weapons. Scientists, both American and Soviet, have proved that this happens when the laser has a capacity of 10 (raised to power 19) joules. And it is from that threshold that we are suggesting to the Americans that lasers should not be deployed in space. On-the-spot verification could be carried out by scientists and experts at the launch of each missile. On that basis agreement could be reached, and SDI limited to research purposes. So far, unfortunately, the American side does not wish to discuss these matters with us. But we still have hope. After all, there do exist positive examples. When Secretary of State George Shultz was in Moscow last April, he signed an agreement on peaceful cooperation in space. Other countries can join the agreement. That would indeed enhance confidence and bring increased security.

Alexander Bessmertnykh, Deputy Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R.

That there has been no war for more than four decades in spite of the existence of nuclear weapons is probably more of an accident than anything else. What saves us all are not the weapons themselves, but parity in them. But if the level of nuclear confrontation is further increased, parity cannot ensure stability. Recognition of this was the intellectual breakthrough achieved in Reykjavic. That is the source of the persistent search by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of untrodden paths and fresh approaches to the world's destiny, which many of our Western colleages still regard as heresy.

The difference in approaches to the problem of disarmament revealed at this meeting is nothing new. As in the past, some experts sought to lead the discussion away to other important problems, but ones that have little to do with disarmament. Is it worth following that path? Or should we get down to disarmament immediately, right away? We, like most of those who have taken part in this meeting, prefer the second alternative. As for the discussion of humanitarian issues, there exist corresponding bilateral and multilateral forums.

And now the question of confidence. It cannot be created by magic. The best way to strengthen confidence is through the limitation and reduction of armaments. Although I do not under any circumstances deny the importance of confidence as such.

But the issue of reducing and eliminating nuclear weapons has to be seen in the context of survival, the context of lessening the threat of nuclear war.

How do we see the 1990s? By the beginning of the next decade Europe will be free of medium-range and shorter-range missiles. Those nuclear weapons that remain, as well as the limited number of nuclear warheads in Asia and in U.S. territory, would not be omitted from the framework of further negotiations. An agreement on medium-range missiles would reduce the nuclear potential by only 1-2 per cent, but the political significance of such a first step would be immense. The question of tactical nuclear weapons would be resolved together with the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons.

Over a period of five years the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. would also cut their strategic offensive weapons by half - with, of course, the ABM treaty remai-

"Strained, but not threatening war"

The Soviet Centre of Public Opinion affiliated to the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences has polled experts on the state of Soviet-U.S. relations. Questionnaires were filled in by specialists in international affairs and natural history, military experts, diplomats, journalists and members of public organizations.

The results have revealed that, in the experts' view, the factors for successful Soviet-U.S. talks on problems of peace and disarmament, and of reaching the relevant agreements, are:

1. The general state of Soviet-American relations.

An overwhelming majority of experts (81 per cent) described them as "strained, but not threatening war."

2. The balance of forces between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.

Most respondents (72 per cent) were of the opinion that the two sides have achieved approximate military parity. Many experts think an agreement must be reached without delay as U.S.S.R.-U.S. relations are extremely strained. Adequate, albeit far from ideal, conditions for holding successful negotiations exist. These are military parity, as well as the fact that tension has not yet grown to a point beyond which negotiations are impossible.

Most experts believe concrete agreements on medium-range missiles are a realistic proposition. However, this is a long- rather than short-term objective (51 per cent). The biggest obstacles in the negotiators' way to agreements are the United States' schemes to undermine the Soviet economy, achieve military superiority (56 per cent) and to go ahead with the SDI programme, as well as a lack of mutual confidence and insufficiently flexible positions. In this connection, 55 per cent of those questioned called on the U.S.S.R. to display "more flexibility" at Soviet-American disarmament talks. The U.S. position is affected by inertia in thinking and the still persistent "enemy image."

As regards factors that could be conducive to reaching agreements, most experts mentioned the further democratization of Soviet society, the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, a unilateral 10 per cent cut in armed forces, increased human contacts, and raising the U.S.S.R.'s economic potential.

Almost all the pollees considered the implementation of SDI - for all the doubts as to its effectiveness - in some measure dangerous to the U.S.S.R., with the worst consequences "to manifest themselves in the economic rather than the military sphere" and "to tell on people's lives and health." Most experts (58 per cent) feel that it is no longer possible to prevent the U.S. putting the SDI project into effect but hope the process of confidence-building between the two countries may help "slow down its implementation."

LILIYA KAZAKOVA
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

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ning in force and no attempts to break the existing structure of the Soviet defence potential. After that, agreement should be sought on the gradual abolition of the remaining strategic offensive weapons.

At the first stage of the abolition of nuclear weapons the two sides would already acquire valuable experience of applying the procedures, principles and mechanisms of mutual control, which in itself would be a factor in ensuring security. The Soviet Union advocates the strictest control and on-site checks and inspections of the dismantling and abolition of missiles at test grounds and military bases, including those in Third World countries, at warehouses and factories, whether private- or state-owned.

It would be important to compare the Warsaw Treaty and NATO doctrines and trace their evolution. That would remove mutual suspicion and mistrust and ensure the emergence of military doctrines based on defensive principles.

The entire complex of measures on disarmament and the strengthening of mutual trust, according to our concept, should go hand in hand with the ultimate creation of a system of all-embracing security in the political, economic and humanitarian fields.

The present meeting of experts has not got down to planning for the 1990s as such. But it has played the part of a catalyst of ideas in the search for international existence.

* * *

And so there are three main concepts of security, three approaches which so far reveal few points of contact. However, all the people I spoke to invariably used the words, "a new mode of thinking."

Naturally there also emerge viewpoints that go beyond any of the concepts already formed.

Each country could and should now make its contribution to building the foundations of security. It can be built only through the collective efforts of all of mankind.

And it is time to make the choice on which will depend whether in future generals fly not over Europe, but over the theatre of operations, politicians continue to cross swords in Geneva, scientists perfect weapons of mass suicide, and we ordinary mortals live in fear of tomorrow or not.

GALINA SIDOROVA
our special correspondent
Sochi

Photo by Y. Keldin

WEST BERLIN

An imprudent call

● PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS CALLED IN EFFECT FOR THE ABANDONMENT OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT.

I must admit that we are somewhat loth to say "the wall." Indeed, when in 1961 the German Democratic Republic was compelled to terminate the "creeping invasion" of its capital from West Berlin, it said that it had built a protective anti-fascist rampart. However, the West preferred to call it "the wall." We sought to avoid that somewhat contemptuous word. However, today it appears that we must use it and this is why.

Only recently President Reagan deemed it necessary to pay a lightning visit to West Berlin. What on earth for? Clearly not in response to any invitation from the West Berliners, for otherwise, it would be hard to explain why his arrival coincided with a 50,000-strong demonstration unequivocally asking him to get out. However, that demand was for West Berliners to make. The President saw his visit in a far broader context, as he believed it necessary to produce a programme statement.

There is nothing reprehensible about this in itself, especially when one appreciates what a criticial time the world is living through today. There is a real chance of a historic move towards nuclear disarmament. On the negotiating table are concrete, balanced proposals from the socialist community, which the Warsaw Treaty leaders reaffirmed not far from the place where a platform was constructed for the President. He could quite easily have made a statement that would have paved the way for an understanding.

But what did the world hear? Only vague references to the possibility of a Euromissile agreement, only shopworn reservations as to the need to preserve the capability "to restrain" possible "Soviet aggression," only the insistent demand to implement "star wars." In short, the same dearth of tangible policies with which the Western line is currently afflicted.

So what was offered instead of a realistic policy? Besides the reiteration of hackneyed platitudes, the President enunciated from "the front line of NATO" a certain philosophy of action. We can not say there was anything novel about it. Rather, it was the same old tune. However, there is something novel in the incessant harping on old tunes.

The U.S. administration's philosophy is that the crucial aspect of the current East-West conflict is the clash of ideologies, and that arms are secondary, with ideology coming first. The alternative offered is simple: the socialist ideology should change, for if it does not it will outlive itself. And here is what the President rhetorically asks in connection with the new developments in Soviet domestic policy. "Are these," he asks, "the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state or are they token gestures intended to raise false hopes in the West or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it?"

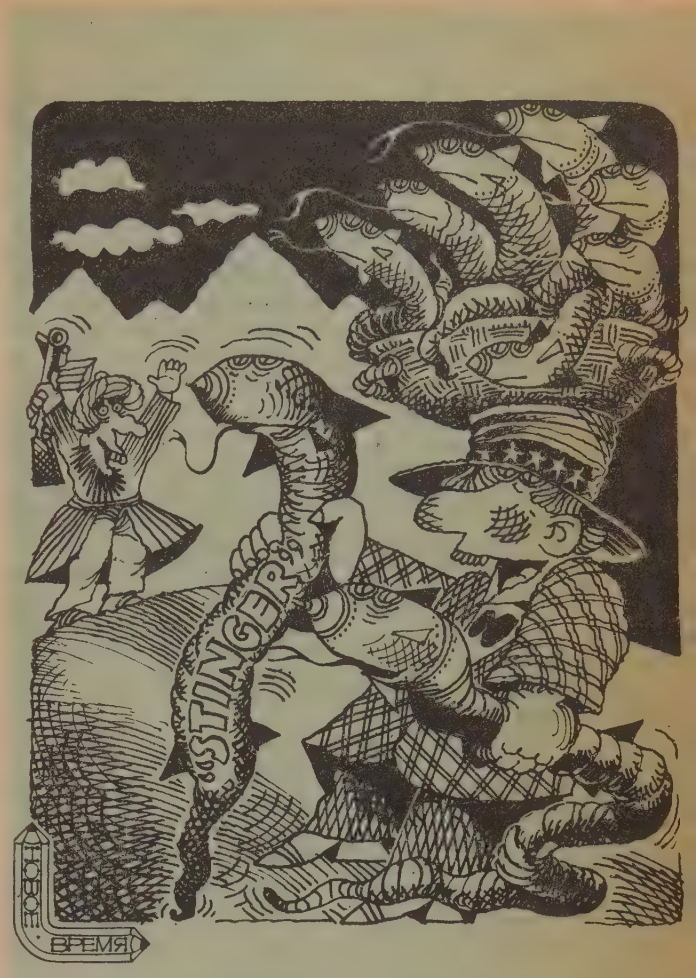
In plain words, the demand made on socialism is that it change. But that is only half the loaf. We are not only being told what to do. We are being threatened. For, as Reagan puts it, he knows of the fear of war and the pain caused by the division afflicting Europe and he assures us that his country will try to end it. What this means is that the U.S. is "generously" seeking to deliver Europe, without, of course, consulting the Europeans, from the division into different social systems. What is desired above all is to end the existence of two social systems on German soil, as in the eyes of the U.S. President the German question "remains open."

To leave no doubt on this score, Ronald Reagan's visit showed how he is trying to "close the German question." He is trying to do so by violating operative international agreements. The provocative visit, involving the F.R.G. President and the F.R.G. Chancellor, the two leaders of a state to which West Berlin does not belong and which cannot govern West Berlin, has shown clearly what the American and West German politicians crave.

This is alarming. Can it be that after the American abandonment of SALT-2 and attempts to revise the ABM agreement, it is now the turn of the agreement pertaining to West Berlin? This is the question that must be asked by everyone who remembers the truly sinister function West Berlin discharged during the cold war; by everyone who remembers how the tanks of General Clay - whom, incidentally, Chancellor Kohl so gratefully recalled when speaking with Reagan in West Berlin - menacingly rolled up to the G.D.R.'s state border.

Those times must not return. The human race is living in a new era. The human race seeks realistic policies, new thinking, coexistence and cooperation between different systems demolishing the walls of suspicion and mistrust put up by anti-communist leaders. But the wall that protects the world from imprudent harangues and sinister calculations still serves its purpose.

M. PUTINKOVSKY



"I can give you a few hundred more. The sting is lethal."
Cartoon by Vsevolod Arsenyev

CHINA

East European tour

●CHINESE PREMIER ZHAO ZIYANG, WHO IS ALSO ACTING GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, HAS PAID OFFICIAL FRIENDLY VISITS TO POLAND, THE G.D.R., CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY AND BULGARIA.

Before leaving Peking, Zhao Ziyang told newsmen: "It is gratifying to note the great progress made in China's relations with the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Since last year inter-party relations have also been restored. China has much in common with these five socialist countries. They are building socialism with an eye to their own specific conditions and are advocating reduced international tensions."

In the Chinese leader's view, the socialist countries of Europe comprise a major factor for the defence of peace. The Chinese public is deeply impressed by their efforts to ease international tensions in the European continent.

In an interview with the magazine, Shijie Zhishi, Deputy Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, who accompanied Zhao Ziyang on his tour, said that the purpose had been to increase mutual understanding, strengthen confidence, and promote cooperation and the preservation of peace. In this sense, he added, the tour had been a milestone in the foreign policy of China, "which wishes to continue confidently, positively and comprehensively to develop friendly cooperation with these countries, in line with the five principles of peaceful coexistence and on the basis of mutual respect, trust, benefit and equality, in the effort to achieve common goals in spite of differences."

During the tour views on the experience of socialist construction and the implementation of economic reforms were extensively exchanged. The sides discussed the promotion of commercial and economic, scientific and technological cooperation, more specifically, such innovative, promising forms as industrial cooperation and joint ventures.

Topical international issues figured prominently in the talks. The parties proceeded from the vital need to avert a nuclear disaster and preserve world peace. They advocated an end to the arms race, efforts to prevent it spreading to outer space, and the reduction and complete elimination of nuclear arms and other means of mass destruction. The importance of a constructive approach to the complex realities of the day in the interests of greater international security was stressed. More specifically, support was voiced for the idea of creating nuclear weapon-free zones.

Zhao Ziyang's tour of the socialist countries of Europe, which lasted from June 4 to June 21, was in effect a return visit, inasmuch as the leaders of Bulgaria, Hungary, the G.D.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia had, since the autumn of 1986, paid official friendly visits to Peking.

The marked progress recently achieved in relations with China in various spheres has been noted in the news media of the fraternal countries. In line with trade agreements concluded for the five years ending in 1990, the overall volume of reciprocal deliveries between Bulgaria, Hungary, the G.D.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia, on the one hand, and the People's Republic of China, on the other, is to total 20 billion Swiss francs. Mixed bilateral commissions for economic and scientific and technological cooperation have been set up and are doing good work. Contacts between the national academies of sciences as well as in the fields of culture and sport are expanding.

ANDREI MILOV

U.A.E.

A brotherly settlement?

●SHEIKH SULTAN BIN MUHAMMAD AL-QASIMI, RULER OF THE EMIRATE OF SHARJAH, ABDICATED ON JUNE 17, THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES NEWS AGENCY REPORTS.

The sheikh's decision was reportedly a consequence of serious blunders in financing

Letter from a dungeon

"Now they feel the power in their hands to torture me here, in this 'democratic' country." These lines are from a letter by Morderchai Vanunu, the Israeli physicist who has spent eight months in solitary confinement in Ashkelon city prison, one of Israel's gloomiest.

As already reported in our magazine, Mordechai Vanunu, who worked for ten years in the top-secret Negev Desert atomic centre, disclosed that the Zionist state was busy implementing an extensive nuclear programme which could have unpredictable consequences. With the cooperation of NATO secret services, agents of the Israeli intelligence service Mossad abducted Vanunu in Rome and took him to Israel, where he is to be tried in camera. Scheduled to have started months ago, the trial has been postponed because of the wide repercussions Vanunu's disclosures have had throughout the world. It is reported that the trial is now to open at the end of August. Vanunu faces a severe sentence on charges of high treason, espionage, and leaking classified information to the enemy.

For months nothing was known of him. Finally he managed somehow to get a letter out to the London Sunday Times, the first newspaper to have carried his exposures. Vanunu had obviously hoped the paper would publish his letter in full, but the Sunday Times decided to confine itself to a summary of this document, in which Mordechai Vanunu again challenges the Zionist state. Vanunu wrote he has no compunction about what he did, that he had known all along the risks he was taking when he decided to tell the world about Israel's nuclear plans."In his letter Vanunu added," the paper writes, "that his growing convictions had forced him to leave his job, leave Israel, leave the Jewish faith and become a Christian." Vanunu's religious sentiments can be judged from his words to the effect that he felt "like Christ must have felt when Jews wanted to kill him." All this sheds additional light on Vanunu's motives. Zionist propaganda has tried to brand this man, who acted from the courage of his convictions - as a "Communist" or a "Palestinian" agent.

Vanunu's words to the effect that he was "tortured in this 'democratic country"' are worthy of special note. A few days before the summary of the letter appeared, an Associated Press correspondent reported from Tel Aviv that Prime Minister Itzhak Shamir of Israel had been compelled to form a commission of inquiry into the charges of using "illegal third-

and in the oil policy. The new ruler is his elder brother Sheikh Abdel-Aziz bin Muhammad al-Qasimi, commander of Sharjah's national guard. However, Dubai Radio reported that Sheikh Sultan had been overthrown in "a palace coup."

Sharjah, which has a population of 220,000, is probably the smallest of the seven emirates that voluntarily federated after winning independence from Britain in 1971. Their prosperity is mainly due to revenues from oil exports.

However, unlike its neighbours, Sharjah was "unlucky" at the outset. Only after a large deposit of gas was discovered there in 1980 did its financial standing improve.

However, about half the emirate's income still goes to meet its external debt.

According to Reuter, the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic drinks, introduced in Sharjah last year, adversely affected its economy, reducing receipts from the tourist and hotel business. This led Sheikh Abdel Aziz to criticize his brother.

The events occurred when Sultan bin Muhammad, 43, who had been emir since 1972, was visiting Britain with his family. Relying on the 2,400-strong national guard, Sheikh Abdel Aziz, 48, moved his residence to the emir's palace. The national guard took control of the business quarter of Sharjah and the airport.

Sultan bin Muhammad rushed back to Dubai, while his wife, who stayed behind in London, said, "I'm still the legitimate ruler of Sharjah." Meanwhile Dubai television called the emir "the legal ruler and member of the Supreme Council."

Foreign observers are wondering what direction developments will take in the United Arab Emirates and, especially, what impact is likely to be on the situation in the Persian Gulf.

The Supreme Council of U.A.E. rulers has resolved to reinstate Sheikh Sultan and designate his elder brother heir apparent, which will give him greater influence in decision-making on domestic affairs. A special committee has been set up to help settle the differences between the two brothers.

ALEXANDER KAPRALOV

degree questioning" methods profered against Israel's Shin Bet counterintelligence service. The move came after reports were published on the tragic fate of another Israeli political prisoner, Izat Nafso, an ex-officer and "member of Israel's Circassian Moslem minority." Nafso had been courtmartialled in 1980 on charges of "espionage and arms sales" to the PLO fighters in South Lebanon, and sentenced to 18 years in jail. After Nafso had served seven and a half years, the sentence was repealed. It turned out that the Shin Bet men got a "confession" from him by beating him up, pouring ice-cold water over him, keeping him out of doors, and abusing his wife and mother.

It will be recalled that in 1984 Shin Bet agents beat another two Palestinian youths to death. In June 1986 this crime caused another political row in Israel and the revelations of the criminal interrogation methods used by the Israeli secret services. Vanunu's letter suggests that similar methods are being applied to him.

According to the Sunday Times, the letter was written in poor English. Well, even if Vanunu's grammar is not quite up to the mark, his punctuation seems all right; at any rate, he is perfectly correct in putting the word "democratic" - as applied to Israel - in inverted commas.

EVGENY KORSHUNOV

Die Welt's stunning discovery

We certainly didn't expect Hamburg's Die Welt to share our feelings about the Matthias Rust escapade. Neither did it come as a surprise to us that in commenting on an article by our political observer (see New Times No. 24), Die Welt denied any backstage motives for the flight. What's more, the paper was amused by the "very idea of it," spoke ironically of the author's "fears" and referred most sympathetically to him as a "poor thing." Well, time will tell who is right. In the meantime, more and more facts come to light that bear witness to Rust's flight having been thoroughly prepared. The magazine Bunte carried out a curious experiment the other day: its correspondent flew a Cessna 172 from Helsinki along the route Rust had taken (only as far as the border this time, of course). It turned out that the route was a most complicated one and required special training in low-altitude flying. Rust had learnt this skill, as he flew to Iceland on several occasions.

We found it entirely predictable that Die Welt should brush off our rhetorical question as to what would have happened had a red-starred plane landed on the White House lawn, and whether anyone would then have pushed the "button." Enno von Loewenstern, the author of the commentary, self-righteously exclaimed that in the free West they do not shoot at civil planes. Let's not go into a discussion on that score, though Herr von Loewenstern would be well advised to stop and ask himself why the leading country of the "free West" supplies Afghan counterrevolutionaries with missiles which then shoot down D.R.A. airliners?

But this is not the main point. We would like to congratulate our Hamburg colleagues on the amazing discovery they have made. Guess why the Soviet press reacted so strongly to the plane incident? I quote: "Presumably, all the scary talk about who would have pressed the button here has just one aim: to explain to the Soviet people that for the sake of the peace policy there must exist a system under which a young man cannot buy a sports plane."

This quotation makes it clear, at last, that the big idea of the socialist system is to deny people - poor things! - the luxury of owning private planes (as well as motorvessels, plants, palaces, skyscrapers, and other such boons). Poor things, indeed! Can't even afford private planes!

We must disappoint Herr Loewenstern here, though. In the first place, Rust did not buy his plane (which costs at least DM 100,000) but rented it from a Hamburg flying club. Consequently, such expensive "toys" are not within everyone's means under capitalism, either. As for the Soviet Union, quite a few young people fly sports planes here, either borrowed from numerous flying clubs, or of their own making. At the Kondor sports club in the town of Stary Oskol the young truck driver Mikhail Logachev has built two planes, and is now busy building a helicopter. He flies a lot - true, not across borders but to the countryside where his mother lives. See how badly off people are under socialism?

As regards behaviour in the air, we are most particular about that. The same is true of the F.R.G., as is evidenced by the legal proceeding instituted against Rust in Itzehoe for a gross violation of air traffic rules which carries up to five years in jail in the F.R.G. So in this respect there is nothing to reproach socialism with either, is there, Herr Loewenstern?

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

VO CHI CONG
PRESIDENT OF THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE S.R.V.

On June 18, Vo Chi Cong was elected President of the S.R.V. State Council by the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Vo Chi Cong was born on August 7, 1913, in Quang Nam-Da Nang Province (Central Vietnam). He joined the Communist Party of Indochina in 1935. In 1943, Vo Chi Cong was arrested by the colonial authorities and sentenced to life imprisonment for his revolutionary activities.

After the August 1945 revolution, Vo Chi Cong held posts in party and administrative bodies. At the Third Party Congress in 1960 he was elected to the Central Committee, and later became secretary of the party's South Vietnam Bureau. From 1962 he also held the post of deputy chairman of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

Following the liberation of South Vietnam and the reunification of the country, Vo Chi Cong worked in the South. In 1976 he was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Marine Products. At the Fourth CPV Congress (1976) he was elected member of the Politbureau of the Party Central Committee. In 1978, he held the posts of Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Agriculture and chairman of the Commission for Agrarian Reform in the South. In 1981 he became Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

At the Fifth CPV Congress in 1982, Vo Chi Cong was elected a member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Central Committee. In July 1986 he was appointed Vice-Chairman of the S.R.V. Council of Ministers.

At the Sixth CPV Congress in 1986, he was reelected a member of the Politbureau of the CPV Central Committee.

Vo Chi Cong has been returned as a deputy to the S.R.V. National Assembly over several successive convocations.

SECURITY PROBLEMS

Dialogue in Geneva

● THE CONCEPT OF A COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY WAS DEBATED IN GENEVA ON JUNE 10 UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE U.N. INSTITUTE FOR DISARMAMENT RESEARCH (UNIDIR).

Prominent diplomats, scientists and journalists, as well as representatives of international nongovernnment organizations, took part in the lively exchange of views. Soviet deputy foreign minister Vladimir Petrovsky summed up the concept of a comprehensive system of international security as a concrete expression of the new thinking and the acme of the philosophy of world politics as expressed through the primacy of overall human values.

Despite the diverse political sentiments, a consensus was reached that the Soviet approach to the problem was gaining extensive ground by virtue of its openness and readiness to take opinions from different quarters into account. Note that none of the speakers questioned the feasibility of Soviet plans for shaping a non-nuclear and non-violent world. Discussions revolved around the issue of how to find optimal ways and means of establishing a system of security on a fundamentally innovative philosophical and political foundation.

The debate was by no means restricted to pure theory. Many speakers offered concrete proposals as to how a system ensuring security of that order would function in practice. The Belgian physicist R. André raised the need to devise within the framework of the system control machinery analogous to the system of guarantees operated by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Sharp controversy greeted New Zealand diplomat K. Graham's view that the legal order, whether nationally or internationally, should always be backed up by force. Views differed still more when he suggested assigning a "nuclear deterrence" force, even of a symbolical order, to the U.N. should a comprehensive system of international security be established.

Nobel Prize winner Antonio Garcia Robles, Mexico's former foreign minister, proposed that the ideas of the independent Palme commission be fully incorporated in the concept of a comprehensive system of international security.

The discussions distinctly revealed that successfully to promote the concept of comprehensive security it is vital to involve the scientific communities and public at large in different countries in the process. As was emphasized by Ambassador Victor Gauci of Malta, the concept proposed by the socialist countries had given a powerful intellectual stimulus to similar ideas amidst the scientific communities in both developing and capitalist countries. It is felt, however, that Soviet scientists and the Soviet public should not stand aloof from this process. For the dialogue continuously to gather momentum it is essential that the problem be widely and keenly discussed in the news media, at public forums and in international organizations and that fresh, unorthodox ideas and approaches be put forward, which would largely serve to transmute the new concept of security into the political philosophy of practical action.

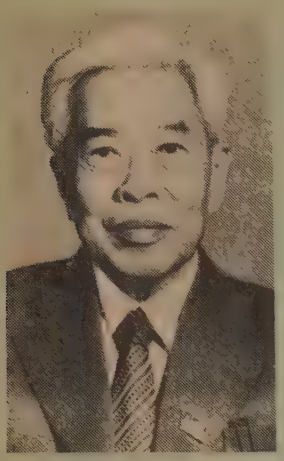
VLADIMIR PARSHIKOV

INDIA

Opposition gauntlet

● THOUGH THE NORTH INDIAN STATE OF HARYANA, SANDWICHED BETWEEN DELHI AND PUNJAB, WITH ITS POPULATION OF ROUGHLY 15 MILLION, IS SMALL BY INDIAN STANDARDS, THE JUNE 17 ELECTIONS THERE TO THE LOCAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ADDED AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT TO THE COMPLEX PANORAMA OF INDIAN POLITICAL LIFE.

A feature of India's domestic affairs is that the ruling Indian National Congres (I) party, which has an absolute majority in the central parlia-



PHAM HUNG

CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE S.R.V.

Pham Hung, a member of the Politbureau of the CPV Central Committee, has been elected Chairman of the Council of Ministers by the S.R.V. National Assembly.

Pham Hung was born on June 11, 1912, in Cuu Long Province, South Vietnam. He joined the Communist Party of Indochina in 1930.

In 1931 he was arrested by the colonial authorities for his revolutionary work and sentenced to death. The sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment on Con Dao Island.

After the victory of the August revolution, Pham Hung was released. In 1946 he was appointed secretary of the Provisional Party Committee for South Vietnam.

At the Second Congress of the Party (1951) he was elected to its Central Committee. In 1952 he became a member, and later deputy secretary of the party's South Vietnam Bureau. In 1956 at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee Pham Hung was elected a member of the Politbureau. In 1957 he was appointed chief of the Prime Minister's office, and in 1958 he was elected a member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Party Central Committee. In April 1958 he was promoted to the post of Deputy Prime Minister.

At the Third Party Congress in 1960, Pham Hung was elected to the Politbureau of the Party Central Committee. In 1967 he was sent to work in the South, where he held the posts of secretary of the party's South Vietnam Bureau and political commissar for the liberation forces of South Vietnam. Pham Hung helpd mastermind Operation Ho Chi Minh, which brought South Vietnam deliverance from the puppet regime.

At the Fourth CPV Congress in 1976, Pham Hung was elected to the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the party. In the same year he was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and in 1980, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior.

At the Fifth CPV Congress in 1982 Pham Hung was reelected a member of the Politbureau of the Party Central Committee.

At the Sixth CPV Congress (1986) he was once again elected to the Politbureau of the CPV Central Committee, and made Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Pham Hung has been returned as a deputy to the S.R.V. National Assembly over several successive convocations.

ment, has in recent years been consistently losing at elections to state legislative assemblies. It has already been defeated in all four southern states, as well as in several eastern and northwestern states. In all, it has lost ten of the country's 25 states.

No wonder attention was focussed on the elections in Haryana, a typical state of what is known as the Hindi-speaking belt, inhabited by representatives of India's ethnic majority and traditionally perceived as a bulwark of the Congress party. Further, Haryana has always set the political trend for the states in this belt. Congress leaders had hoped the elections would reverse their dispiriting run of electoral debacles.

The main rival of the INC (I), which had until now controlled Haryana, was an alliance composed of the conservative Lok Dal (B) party representing well-to-do farming interests, and the reactionary Bharatiya Janata Party, whose platform is characterized by Hindu chauvinism. The elections resulted in Haryana becoming the eleventh state where the INC (I) has lost control.

Even the INC opponents were staggered by the size of the swing away from it as it won only five of the 87 seats, with the opposition alliance securing 74 seats and the Lok Dal 59. Kamlapati Tripathi, member of the INC (I) executive and a prominent fighter for independence, said that the results comprised not so much a victory for the Lok Dal party as an expression "of our own weaknesses and infighting."

The Haryana electorate was swayed by Lok Dal's widely touted populist promises, the implementation of which is, in the view of local commentators, highly problematical. This party also played on popular dissatisfaction with the unsettled state of affairs in neighbouring Punjab as well as on its own spurious thesis that to deal with the problems in Punjab, the central government was supposedly sacrificing the interests of Haryana.

Yet tiny Haryana was more than just a venue for the complex interaction of local factors and interests. The policy being pursued by external forces to destabilize India also had no small effect. In recent months the imperialists, irked by the independent foreign policy of Rajiv Gandhi's cabinet, have been bombarding the country with unproven "exposures," alleging financial malpractice in government deals with a range of foreign firms, especially over arms purchases. The bourgeois opposition is inflating these stories, whipping up anti-government hysteria to enfeeble the ruling party's standing with the people and cast aspersions on the Prime Minister. Faced with this situation even INC party functionaries, not to mention ordinary voters, were confused and demoralized, becoming in effect cats' paws in the struggle being waged against the INC (I) by domestic reaction and hostile external forces, which have united their efforts to paralyze the party as the sole faction capable of implementing the Jawaharlal Nehru-Indira Gandhi line at home and abroad.

Currently the bourgeois opposition is interpreting the INC (I)'s Haryana defeat as an index of its loss of the indisputable public mandate to govern, that it won at the general election in late 1984. Demands for the Prime Minister's resignation, the dissolution of parliament and an early election are being voiced. Right-wing oppositionists are also importuning the President to sanction the prosecution of Rajiv Gandhi on grounds of being implicated in violations of the rules under which the government contracts foreign firms.

In short, events in India provide an example of the way in which the imperialists relying on domestic reaction work to destabilize a developing country that has incurred their displeasure. At a mass rally on June 20, Rajiv Gandhi said that external forces, displeased with India's progressive role on the world scene, were seeking, with the assistance of opponents of the Jawaharlal Nehru-Indira Gandhi line at home, to drive the country into a blind alley and undermine its unity. But India, the Prime Minister emphasized, would take up the gauntlet and repel its enemies both within and without.

Our own correspondent

Delhi

Brandt steps down

Social Democrats reaffirm the party's course

According to long-established practice, political parties choose a motto for every congress. The Social Democrats who gathered at Bonn's Beethovenhalle on June 14 chose the motto "Traditions and Perspectives."

It was an extraordinary congress, which was to say farewell to Willy Brandt and elect a new SDP chairman. The candidate's name was known in advance: he was one of Brand's deputies, the leader of the Social Democrats in the Bundestag, Hans-Jochen Vogel.

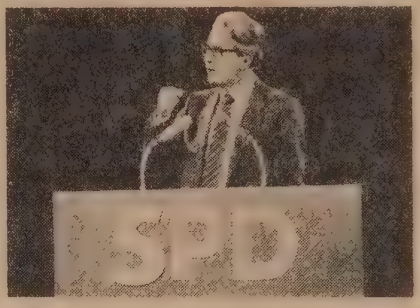
Causes of setbacks

Brandt is without doubt the best-known and most popular political figure in the F.R.G. He headed the SDP for almost a quarter of a century. He led it to electoral victory in the late sixties to become the first Social Democratic Chancellor in the history of the F.R.G. His name is associated with the policy of détente and the normalization of relations with the socialist countries on the basis of the recognition of postwar realities in Europe. Brandt has been chairman of the Socialist International since 1976.

His retirement was forced. The immediate cause may seem insignificant: differences over Brtandt's controversial proposal to appoint a 30-year-old Greek woman, Margarita Mathiopoulos, as the board's press officer. At other times the conflict would have probably been settled easily. But the row broke out shortly after the elections to the Bundestag, when the party suffered great losses and won 37 per cent of the vote. The row went far beyond the specific issue of appointing a press liaison officer. Some politicians accused Brandt, directly or indirectly, of weak leadership, blaming him for the electoral setback. To put an end to the damaging debate within the party, Brandt offered to resign immediately, and not at the 1988 party congress as he had originally planned.

At a meeting of the SDP board, he spoke unequivocally about the right wing of the party, who were trying to bring about a change in the party's course although they did not command a majority. Nor did he spare some of the leftists, whom he accused of putting their own interests above those of the party as a whole.

The SDP's present policy was formulated at its congress in Nuremberg last August. The resolutions, adopted almost unanimously, set forth the Social Democratic alternative to the domestic and foreign policy of the ruling liberal-conservative coalition. Instead of "social dismantling" - reduction of social spending under the pretext of strengthening the governmnent budget - the SDP favoured greater aid to the poorest strata of the population, and instead of tax rebates for the wealthy, it proposed benefits for low-income groups. The Social Democrats proposed some urgent government measures to combat unemployment, and went along with the main demands of the unions for a shorter working week and greater working participation in management. The SDP came out against legislation that limited people's democratic rights, notably the right to strike. It opposed the concepts of a "position of strength" and "nuclear deterrence," advancing its ideas of East-West partnership on security issues and phased disarmament.



Hans-Jochen Vogel, the new SDP leader. From Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

In Nuremberg, the SDP came out against the peaceful use of nuclear energy and called for a switch to alternative sources within the next ten years. But the authors of the resolution effectively expressed doubt that their demands were realistic by declaring that it would require "broad public consensus." The chances of such a consensus are remote. The resolution was largely prompted by tactical considerations aimed at winning votes from the Greens who take a radical stand on the issue.

On the whole, however, the Nuremberg decisions, though not free of characteristic social democratic inconsistencies, marked a major step forward, especially in comparison with the line pursued by the cabinet under the former deputy chairman of the party, Helmut Schmidt, particularly in foreign policy. The SDP has suffered setbacks not because it has a bad programme but because it was adopted too late. The party has not yet managed to restore the authority frittered away in recent years by the social-liberal coalition.

The SDP has not managed to win over critically-minded young people, who prefer the Greens. Vogel has admitted that the party's membership is not growing and the average age of its members is above the national average. The party has few women and industrial workers among its members. According to the new chairman, the party is in a "difficult phase."

Problem with many imponderables

The SDP is setting its sights high. It seeks to restore its position as the leading political force in the F.R.G., strengthen the position of the Land parliaments and communal authorities, and ultimately head the government in Bonn in order to implement its proposed reforms. Bearing in mind the results of the recent elections, one can imagine what an arduous road lies ahead. Vogel proposes to start by taking a long hard look at the setbacks to reveal the true reasons for voters swinging away from the SDP.

The Nuremberg congress was presented with a new SDP programme drawn up by a commission led by Brandt. The draft, which retained the main provisions of the 1959 Bad Godesberg programme, tried to address itself to the new historical challenges: the dangerous rate of environmental pollution, the adverse consequences of the scientific and technological revolution under capitalism, and so on. The Social Democrats propose to tackle these problems by "improving" society and introducing reforms. In their opinion, the state in the F.R.G. has lost its class character, although society does preserve class features. It was not the task of the drafters to change the character of the SDP as a reformist party. But the fact that some acute questions long ignored by the Social Democrats have been raised indicates their more critical attitude to reality.

Initially, the draft was to be adopted at the party's 1988 congress after being discussed. But the discussion has never got off the ground as the party has been preoccupied with the electoral campaigns at various levels. This left no time to discuss the programme. The Bonn congress therefore postponed the adoption of the programme for a year in order to have a preliminary discussion.

The Bonn congress has left many questions unanswered, including the important issue of political alliances. Experience shows that no party in the F.R.G. is capable of winning a majority on

its own, which means that every party seeking power needs a partner. Several years ago Brandt came up with the idea of a "majority to be left of the CDU." In practice, this means alliance with the Greens. There are both ardent supporters and fierce opponents of such an alliance within each party. Over the years, debates over these issues in both parties have been so acrimonious as to threaten to split the parties. There is little practical progress. The only "Red-Green coalition" (in the Land of Hesse) has collapsed under the weight of internal contradictions. As a result, both parties have found themselves on the opposition bench.

Vogel has called for an end to "continual arguments about allies" and concentration on developing the party's own policy. A congress resolution says cooperation with other parties is a "tactical issue," to be decided depending on the specific conditions.

It is clear, however, that the Social Democrats will never achieve their goals as formulated in Nuremberg if they are allied with the CDU. Such a coalition would only be possible if the SDP renounced its own principles (which some would like to see happen). So, if the SDP is seriously committed to its projects it must choose a suitable ally.

The new SDP chairman faces a difficult task with many imponderables. But he enjoys the support of the whole party, which voted for him almost unanimously. At 61, Vogel is an experienced politician, his capacity for hard work is proverbial, and he is known within the party as "the teacher."

The vacated post of deputy chairman of the SDP has been filled by the Prime Minister of Saar, Oskar Lafontaine who is sometimes referred to as the political grandson of Brandt and is tipped as a future leader of the SDP. But Lafontaine, who represents the party's left wing, has many enemies. In another change of leadership, Anke Fuchs, a member of Seeheim Circle uniting the right wing of the SDP, has been made the party's federal secretary. If the leaders of the party (among whom Johannes Rau, another deputy chairman, should also be included) find a common language, peace within the party may be restored.

In recognition of Brandt's services, the congress has elected him honorary chairman of the SDP. Thanking the delegates, he noted that he did not quite know what to make of his new post. At any rate, he is not going to retire from active politics. "I am leaving the bridge, but not the ship," he said.

ALEXANDER TOLPEGIN
our own correspondent
Bonn

Loaded zeros

After long and painful reflection the Atlantic partners have agreed in principle to give their okay to the zero tie proposed by the Soviet Union on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles in Europe.

The ice seems to have broken. Things are beginning to move. The European Parliament meeting the other day in Strasbourg responded to the favourable turn of events with a special resolution in support of the conclusion of agreements between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. on nuclear disarmament in Europe. The vote was 245 for and only 18 against. At the other side of the globe the Japanese newspaper Yomiuri wrote: "The importance of such agreements is self-evident. After all, the agreements of the 1960s and 1970s provided only for limitation and control of armaments, now they are to be eliminated altogether."

But will they be? Are our Atlantic partners really prepared to do this? Doubts on this score are evoked, for one thing, by the reservation contained in the NATO decision about excluding from the projected Soviet-American agreements the Bundeswehr's 72 Pershing 1A missiles and their nuclear warheads which, it is said, are at the disposal of the United States.

According to the prestigious British annual Jane's Weapon Systems for 1986-87, the American Pershing 1A missiles were deployed on F.R.G. territory in the course of 1969-71. These missiles are equipped with nuclear warheads with a yield of 400 kilotons and have a range of 740 kilometres. As we see, they are a formidable first-strike weapon.

In justification of its insistence on retaining the Pershing 1As in the Bundeswehr's arsenal, the F.R.G. government advanced this argument: on the table of the bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva are exclusively weapons systems belonging to the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. The question of the Pershing 1As, as belonging to a third party, is not subject to discussion any more than are the French and British systems which are not on the agenda. It has also been said in Bonn that the exclusion of the Pershing 1As from the "zero option" "is consonant with the analogous stand taken by the U.S." And Friedhelm Ost, an official spokesman of the F.R.G. government, actually asked in surprise why the Soviet Union had suddenly begun to talk about these missiles. After all, throughout the negotiations on the medium- and shorter-range missiles the Soviet side had never mentioned them. Nor had the subject been raised during U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz's recent visit to Moscow.

Neither it had. Because at all these talks the Soviet side had proceeded from full awareness of the need to eliminate all Soviet and American armaments of these types in Europe without exception. Now it turns out that the NATO decision provides for an exception.

It is also true that the armaments of third countries are not discussed in Geneva. But if the nuclear warheads of the West German Pershings are armaments of a third country that would mean that they do not belong to the U.S. Whom, then, do they belong to? Are there not grounds for the reports that the West German Pershings have a "double key"? Is it not true that the decision to use them must be taken jointly by the U.S. and the F.R.G., which makes Bonn co-owner of the nuclear warheads?

Not long ago in Stockholm this writer heard a SIPRI expert, a man close to well-informed quarters, advance the hypothesis that in violation of the commitments of both sides under the nuclear non-proliferation treaty the U.S. has transferred to the F.R.G. and the latter accepted nuclear warheads. Incredible though this scenario might seem, the very behaviour of the U.S.A. and the F.R.G. in regard to the Pershings evokes such suspicions. In any case, Bonn's stubborn striving to keep the nuclear missiles on F.R.G. territory at the disposal of the Bundeswehr suggests that the F.R.G. has not abandoned hope of joining the nuclear club.

One would not wish the expert's conjecture to be confirmed. But the fact remains that the long-awaited moves of the Atlantic alliance towards ridding the European continent of nuclear missiles clearly fall short of the mark. The zeros they talk about are prickly affairs, bristling with the nuclear warheads of the Bundeswehr Pershings.

SERGEI GOLYAKOV
New Times political analyst

GLASNOST NEEDS NO TRANSLATION

YURI SHEVCHENKO

The Russian word in the title of this article may be giving a lot of trouble, pronunciation-wise, to Germans or Frenchmen, Japanese or Britons. But they continue to use it because glasnost (openness) has suddenly become something of an international vogue-word.

Even the etymology of the word has come up for discussion. Some believe it is cognate with the Russian word for "vowel" and there are even those who think it is linked with the "glasny" (voting member) of the town councils in old Russia.

In the same way, when the name of Gagarin, the first man in space, hit the headlines, some people wondered whether he was not a descendant of the aristocratic Gagarin family in old Russia.

Judging from letters to our editor, glasnost is being discussed everywhere and by everyone, from government minister to unskilled labourer, by friends and foes alike. It provokes arguments, curiosity, debates, and gives rise to disappointment or hope.

"I am a veteran Communist," writes Rigo Bruno from Verona, Italy, "and I am frightened by the news of changes in the U.S.S.R. and of glasnost. To me your country has always stood firm as the only bulwark. Will you be able, in carrying out the reform, to keep your allegiance to Marxism-Leninism? Our newspapers report that socialism is turning into capitalism. I would like to have an assurance from you that this is untrue; the thought of the demise of socialism horrifies me and gives me sleepless nights."

"You have not been afraid to speak honestly and truthfully about your shortcomings before the whole world and, most importantly, to launch an uncompromising campaign against them. I believe that you will succeed," writes Mersha Assefa from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

"People judge your country by any Soviet-made article that comes our way. That is why it gives me pain to hold an inferior-quality item manufactured in your country," Do Lang Son notes in his letter from Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Bert Jenkins of Chicago, U.S.A., asks whether U.S. society could embark on change similar in scale to that taking place in the U.S.S.R. and concludes that U.S. society is not up to it, although it needs change.

The tone of the letters varies from friendliness to alarm, congratulation to mockery. But above all, they ask questions, the most frequent ones being, who determines the limits to criticism in the U.S.S.R.? Is glasnost dosed from above, and if so who does it? What is the purpose of glasnost?

An original answer to the last question is offered by that great specialist on Soviet affairs, Caspar Weinberger. Speaking at the Centre for Defence Studies in Brussels on May 25, the U.S. Defence Secretary declared that lurking behind the policy of glasnost is the KGB, whose agents have a very different idea of glasnost than people in the West.

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We have received two angry letters, one from an American, and another from a Soviet citizen.

The Soviet letter comes from Rafael Kryuchkov, a teacher from Sukhumi.

"Many sociologists abroad, while recognizing the fact of some democratization of the Soviet state, ask whether the measures taken by our leadership in this field are just a cosmetic operation to get rid of some of the ugliest sores? Are they not a kind of safety valve? These questions are being asked not only by sociologists in Western Europe and the United States, but also by some Soviet citizens, including mylself. What worries us most is that glasnost is limited in character. Up till now, the mass media have been silent about many lamentable facts."

The American letter comes from Eddie Hines of Fargo, North Dakota.

"There is a disturbing set of circumstances being presented to the American public by the U.S. press and other media about changes in the dynamics of Soviet society. This set of circumstances is surrounded by the word glasnost. Glasnost from what I have read, means openness. However, this term is interpreted in different ways: for example, that somehow the U.S. administration's demands will be met relative to so-called dissident and other anarchistic elements in Soviet society.... But let's return to the U.S.A. and discuss the happenings in Forsyth County, Georgia. One cannot live peacefully or safely in this country unless you are a white person. Believe it or not, racism prevails in Forsyth County, U.S.A., the KKK runs the show.

"The U.S. administration has a tradition: it is forever demanding that the Soviet Union do something about so-called human rights violations. It demands the same thing of Cuba, also Nicaragua, and the Warsaw pact countries.

"What about Forsyth County?"

I have quoted from these two letters at length not because they seem to comment on each other in some ways, and certainly not because I want to resort to the old convenient "what about yourself?" form of argument. Mutual recriminations do not get us anywhere and should be abandoned.

I find these letters interesting because for all the difference of content and points of view they have one thing in common: their authors have a profound interest in glasnost. Glasnost seems to answer a need not only in this country but also in many other countries and continents. For it would be naive to attribute this universal interest to idle curiosity, or solidarity or hostility to the U.S.S.R. Glasnost seems to be favoured by many the world over.

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What, then, is glasnost? The chance to write a sharply critical article to a Soviet magazine without fear of victimization, as the teacher from Sukhumi has done, and to lament that there is not enough glasnost and that it is being "dosed"? Yes, this is a prime condition of glasnost. But then how does it differ from what obtains in the West where one can criticize anyone, even the president, as much as one likes?

Who determines the limits to criticism in the Soviet Union?

Our glasnost has blended in a single new notion not only "openness" (Eddie Hines of North Dakota gives the right translation), but also what comes after openness, that is action, practical action and results.

Glasnost has already yielded great benefits. Without repeating the commonly known facts, I cannot, however, refrain from citing some of the more impressive examples. The pollution of Lake Baikal, the world's largest freshwater lake, has been stopped and the project to reverse the flow of some Siberian rivers has been abandoned.

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АЭРОФЛОТ
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Glasnost is making things difficult for those who until recently felt firmly entrenched in their positions - bureaucratic officials and embezzlers, corrupt demagogues and self-conceited fools who only yesterday felt smug and secure. Soviet newspapers are naming many villains, including those who held or hold high office. Words are being followed by actions. The management of the economy, social affairs, factories and research centres, culture and art is passing into the hands of honest, worthy people with untarnished reputations, and the system of electing managers is being perfected.

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What is the relationship between glasnost and democracy? There is no ready answer to this question because democracy means different things to different people and even to different societies. Some think, in all seriousness, that democracy and socialism are poles apart, and that the latter is a form and means of suppressing the individual.

Is glasnost dosed from above, and if so who does it?

Just how far removed these views are from the truth can be judged if only by the fact that socialism abolished the exploitation of man by man the first thing in its early historical beginnings - a radical democratic move which, alas, is not provided for by the Western concept of democracy. Today our country is tackling other problems involved in democratization, but is doing so at its own, socialist, level. We are convinced therefore that the more socialism, the more democracy. Figuratively speaking, every fact and every manifestation of openness brings grist to the mill of socialism - the society which has been the first to put social justice above everything else.

As we delve deeper into the notion of "openness," we shall inevitably arrive at the conclusion that it is of class nature, and that what really matters is not openness for its own sake, but the cause it serves.

In capitalist countries you can talk openly about the numerous woes of capitalism: the appalling gap between wealth and poverty, unemployment, terrorism, prostitution, and drug addiction among young people. One can voice one's indignation and disagreement. But does it make any difference in real life?

Democracy cannot be reduced to freedom of expression or the right to vote. In the United States, for example, half of the national wealth is controlled by a small group of people who account for a few thousandths of a per cent of the population. What has that to do with democracy? How do you square democracy with the fact that electing a representative to Congress costs at least 200,000 dollars and a Senator several times that sum?

What is one to make of the silence of the U.S. press about the Indian rights champion Leonard Peltier, who has been in jail for years, of the official hounding of the Berrigan brothers and Doctor Spock for their political convictions, of the failure to report an underground nuclear explosion in the Nevada desert? "What about Forsyth County?"

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Some people in the West are patting themselves on the back and claiming that glasnost is the result of Western demands for the "liberalization of Soviet society," a concession to outside pressure. Our country is not doing what it is doing in order to please someone. The development of Soviet democracy is an imperative stemming from the very essence of socialism and proof of its vigorous and dynamic character. Progressive people abroad watching developments in this country are coming to the conclusion that glasnost is a sign of the boldness of socialism, boldness in self-assessment, analysis and decisions. One should not approach it in the spirit of an accountant: this has been mentioned and this has not. We are involved in a process of renewal, the search for new ways of tackling a host of problems, a process of democratization. Let me stress that it is a process.

"Speaking genuine truth is no easy matter," writes a New Times reader from Simferopol. "Too many people have been deceived, and only a righteous cause can restore their faith and memory."

It is the interconnection and inseparability of the truth and the righteous cause that makes glasnost so attractive to many people in different parts of the world, and especially to Soviet people, who are learning "the truth and nothing but the truth" about the often dramatic periods of Soviet history. Let me just mention the recently published books "White Clothes" by Vladimir Dudintsev (Neva magazine, Nos. 1-4, 1987), "New Appointment" by Alexander Bek (Znamya, Nos. 10-11, 1986), "Children of the Arbat" by Anatoly Rybakov (Druzhba Narodov, Nos. 4-6, 1987), "The Juvenile Sea" by Andrei Platonov (Znamya,No. 6, 1986), and the recent film "Repentance".

"There is nowhere to retreat to. The October Revolution is behind us," our reader Vladimir Smirnov from the town of Kashira writes. This is a paradoxical formula which I understand in the following way: the October Revolution and the standards set by Lenin and his associates are not only the point of reference, but also the supreme criterion of moral values in the country today, a spiritual benchmark and a stimulus to act.

The path of the world's first socialist state has not been smooth. Along with historic achievements that are not subject to revisions, such as the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture, there have been periods of war and difficulty and the traumatic experience of the "personality cult" whose consequences are still felt today; we have had periods of initiative, stagnation and complacency. We cannot retreat any further.

What is the purpose of glasnost?

Chronologically, the Great October Revolution is in the past.It is seven decades since rebels in tsarist Russia, equipped with the doctrine of Marx and Lenin, took power in their hands. At the same time, the goals of the October Revolution have yet to be achieved. Coming closer to Lenin and the ideals of our great revolution lies at the core of all the social-economic and democratic changes in the U.S.S.R.

Glasnost and reform represent a fresh start.

"We in Spain," writes L. Galan, "are following the Gorbachev reforms with keen interest. You are taking the only correct approach in trying to clear the logjams of the past, which obstruct the development and renewal of the society that has been called upon to be the vanguard of mankind. You are acting in the spirit of the Leninist Bolsheviks who 'stormed the sky.'"

The increasing unity of words and actions, the new openness and truthfulness that are penetrating our life like an X-ray, and the tangible and multi-faceted democratization now under way are the best proof of the viability of socialism.

You can sleep peacefully at night, Mr Rigo Bruno.

■

The Revolution's impact on Egypt

FOUAD MORSI, journalist

As I look through the annals of the Egyptian-Soviet relationship I can see its sources, going back as they do to the start of this century, when our two peoples awoke to revolutionary ideas and launched their struggles for freedom.

The Russian revolutionists who came to Egypt at the close of the last century settled mainly in Alexandria and Cairo. It is rumoured that some Bolsheviks came after the defeat of the Russian revolution of 1905 and established contacts with representatives of our national intelligentsia. That was the time when Lenin's newspaper Iskra (The Spark) was smuggled via Alexandria to Batumi and Kherson for further dissemination inside Russia. The Russian revolutionaries supported Egyptian working-class protests, during a demonstration in 1907 even turned out with a red banner bearing the name of their party: "The Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolshevik)."

After the October 1917 Revolution, the Egyptian historian Muhammed Abdullah Annan, one of the first to popularize the ideas of socialism in Egypt, wrote: "Lenin is that man who by virtue of his indefatigable single-mindedness and his penetrating mind managed to translate Marx's ideals into reality, and with his comrades created history's first ever socialist republic."

When the Egyptian cultural figure Ahmed Rifaat undertook to translate Lenin's "The State and Revolution," he noted in his introduction: "The name of Lenin, which has come to symbolize hopes of justice and progress for the human race, belongs to all of humanity, not just one country."

In 1916, shortly before the October Revolution, Lenin announced that when the socialist revolution won in Russia it would seek alliance with the peoples of Mongolia, Persia, India, Egypt and other countries of the East. Hence, after the victory of the Great October Revolution, the Soviet government addressed an appeal to the peasants and workers of the Middle East - all toiling Muslims of the East victimized by exploitation, which found a sweeping response in Egypt's major cities, especially Alexandria. The Soviet government renounced all the privileges tsarist Russia had enjoyed in Egypt. It was to be expected that the world's first worker-peasant state would support Egypt's anti-colonialist, bourgeois democratic revolution of 1919.

The new Soviet republic published the secret agreements under which the imperialist powers sought to carve up the Arab East. They included the Anglo-French agreement of 1904, on the partitioning of Egypt and the Maghreb, as well as the Anglo-French Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 on the division of Arab territories after the end of the first world war.

The October Revolution also stood solidly behind the other revolutionary movements sweeping the Arab world then: the revolutions of 1919 and 1920 in Syria and Lebanon, the revolution of 1920 in Iraq, and the revolution of 1921 in Morocco.

Despite the positions adopted by their respective governments, the Arab peoples declared through the Committee of Arab Unity set up in 1919 that "the Arabs regard Lenin and his comrades, and the revolution they carried out for the deliverance of the East from the yoke of its European oppressors, as a powerful factor for their freedom and prosperity."

The Egyptian historian Muhammed Anis recalls that during the 1919 revolution in Egypt, leaflets describing the Bolshevik victory in Russia were disseminated. The British exploited this as a further pretext for staying on in Egypt, claiming that the uprising was led by Communists and Bolsheviks. This was a deliberate misrepresentation, but the British used it to alarm the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

The Egyptian Socialist Party, founded in 1920, called for recognition of the Soviet Russian government. By that time the principled foreign policy of the new Soviet republic with regard to the East, and more specifically, its recognition of the Turkish revolution with its leader Kemal Atatürk, had won tremendous popular esteem in Egypt. Sympathy for Soviet Russia swiftly grew. The fact that this was more than just sympathy was demonstrated by the establishment in Alexandria of a support committee for the Russian revolution and a committee of aid to Russia, then afflicted by hunger and the imperialist blockade.

Soviet prestige gained still more from the heroic struggle of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. against the nazi occupation during the second world war. The iron curtain with which colonialism sought to keep the people of Egypt from the truth about the life and achievements of the world's first socialist state collapsed. The two countries established diplomatic relations. Since the July 1952 revolution in Egypt, the progressive reforms in our country have been inextricably bound up with the Soviet Union, especially after the Bandung conference and the Soviet arms deliveries agreements, which broke the imperialist monopoly concerned and put an end to the blackmailing of Cairo by the imperialist states.

The Soviet Union judged the Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal Company to be absolutely legitimate. When the Anglo-Franco-Israeli alliance launched its attack on Egypt, the land of the Great October Revolution came to our aid. The Soviet government called on the tripartite alliance to stop its aggression and get out of Egypt. The enterprise ended in an ignominious fiasco.

In 1959 President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt said: "We value the support the Soviet Union gives us in all our struggles against colonialism and appreciate its cooperation in the entrenchment of our economy and industry."

Indeed, the Soviet Union agreed to help us build Africa's biggest dam, the Aswan. The Soviet Union helped Egypt with loans and experts in the effort to build the Helwan iron and steel works, the Nag Hammadi aluminium plant, the Abu Zabal pharmaceutical enterprise and the Alexandria shipping yards, which, along with other joint construction projects, stand as monuments to Egyptian-Soviet friendship.

U.S.-led imperialism did not abandon attempts to topple the progressive patriotic regime brought into being by the July revolution. It spurred Israel on against Egypt, inducing it to perpetrate a further act of aggression in June 1967. However, the decisive steps taken by the Soviet Union and the socialist community prevented the invaders from accomplishing their aim of overthrowing the progressive regime. Gamal Abdel Nasser noted later: "Whenever we recall the friends who were with us in those difficult days of 1967, we say that the Soviet Union was our greatest friend, and most deserves our eternal, unbounded gratitude."

During the hard-hitting crisis of 1967, the U.S.S.R. and socialist countries again gave a practical demonstration of the international principles born of the Great October Revolution. Yet, on the other hand, the defeat sustained in the six-day war showed that it was necessary to proceed to a higher stage of socio-economic transformations in the Arab states. A marriage of the objectives of economic liberation with the imperatives of social liberation became vital.

This was once again borne out by the experience of the "regressive revolution".

First joint venture

Igirma-Tairiku is the name of a joint Soviet-Japanese enterprise that is to produce sawn timber. Irkutsklesprom, a U.S.S.R. timber association, holds 51 per cent of the stock. The Japanese partner is Tairiku Trading. Operations are to start next April with Japan to get 78 per cent of the output and the rest going to the U.S.S.R. and other countries.

Even before the new joint venture outside Irkutsk was organized, the two countries had tried out such ventures, albeit in other forms, which means there is already some expertise in this field. In the 1920s and 1930s Japanese investors held seven concessions in the Soviet Far East. These covered oil extraction, coal and gold mining, timber, and fishing. Under one of the 1925 concession agreements, as much as 100,000 tons of coal and 200,000 tons of oil were extracted in Northern Sakhalin annually, which was unquestionably of significance for Japan as to all practical intents it has no sources of energy of its own. The U.S.S.R., in turn, was thus able to expedite the development of its Far Eastern regions. The very fact that concessions were contracted reflected the high level reached in the bilateral relationship as a whole. Successful solutions were found to the difficult legal, economic and social questions associated with the functioning of the concessions - discontinued by mutual agreement during the last war. The two countries had no subsequent experience of joint ventures until 1961, when a shipping company was set up on the basis of parity between Sovfrakht, the Soviet chartering organization, and the Far Eastern Shipping Company on the one hand, and the Japanese Toyo Kyodo Kaiyun Kaisha, on the other. To this day the company operates sea carriage between the two countries. Between 1966 and 1970 Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, and JAL, its Japanese counterpart, operated flights together between Moscow and Tokyo, taking equal shares of the dividends and with each partner in full and independent control of its own property. After the number of flights had greatly increased the two companies decided to operate passenger carriage separately.

After the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet enacted its Decree of January 13 this year on the establishment of joint ventures, Japanese firms made several offers to set up such joint enterprises in the woodworking, food and fishing industries. Moscow decided that the first such ventures should be in the woodworking industry. There was no fortuity here as logs and timber lead in export to Japan, accounting for 30 per cent of the total. However, until recently the timber supplied to Japan was dressed in line with Soviet market standards, which do not conform to Japanese standards. As a result, one side lost out on the price, while the other had to engage in additional dressing to bring the timber up to standard. The new joint venture will obviate difficulties of this order. At the tenth Soviet-Japanese conference of economists last month, our Japanese colleagues asked to have the provisions of the January decree specified, some juridical and social details finalized, and help Japanese firms to familiarize with the situation on the Soviet market.

It should be noted that in the number of offers and the scale of the proposed transactions, Japanese firms are behind Finnish, Austrian and U.S. business interests. Negotiations are successfully going ahead with Austrian firms to establish a score of joint ventures within the context of long-term economic agreements up to 1995.

The fact that there are no agreements or programmes of this order with Japan is undoubtedly holding back the establishment of joint ventures. Further, a healthy bilateral relationship is absolutely essential inasmuch as the Toshiba Kikai affair, as this magazine stressed in its previous issue, is far from conducive to rational business ties.

The current Soviet reform of its external economic policies offers considerable opportunities to businessmen. The main thing for Soviet commercial organizations is to act swiftly and skilfully, with farsightedness, initiative and a detailed knowledge of the market situation and the potentials and requirements of their partners.

YURI STOLYAROV

Cand. Sc.(Econ.)

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led by President Anwar Sadat after Nasser's death, when the emergence of a parasitic bourgeoisie was attended by that of a new dependence on imperialism. It was also clear that the future of the Egyptian revolution could not be seen in isolation from the future of the world revolutionary process.

* * *

Now and then we all like to speculate about some of the "ifs" of history. We ask ourselves what the world would be like today without the October Revolution and the Soviet Union. Or how things would be had the U.S.S.R. been completely disarmed on the eve of the last war? Or if the U.S. had a monoply on nuclear weapons? One can easily imagine how fatal the consequences would be for the world revolutionary process as a whole and for the forces of national liberation.

In the past the imperialists never hesitated, when they believed it necessary, harshly to suppress national liberation movements. They stopped at nothing. However, the victory of the October Revolution changed the situation, especially after the last war. Today in times of crisis world capitalism cannot resolve its problems at the expense of others. We must honestly admit that for this we are indebted to the Soviet Union.

It is not just the fundamental contradiction between socialism and capitalism that characterizes our times. There is also a further contradiction on the solution of which depends more than just the existence or collapse of one or other regime, but the future of all of humanity: this is the question of whether the nuclear catastrophe is to be or not to be. Today war has lost its old meaning as the continuation of politics by other means. What is at stake today is our annihilation or survival on earth. The Soviet Union is leading the vigorous peaceful offensive for nuclear disarmament.

Today the U.S.S.R. is preoccupied with the task of expediting its socio-economic advance, in other words, the revolutionary renaissance of society. In terms of its profundity this cannot be seen as anything other than a direct continuation of the October Revolution and its enormous potential worldwide.

I should like to conclude this article about the importance of the October Revolution for the East and, more specifically for Egypt, with the words of gratitude addressed by President Gamal Abdel Nasser to the Soviet people and the Soviet leadership in the Kremlin in August 1965: "We know where the Soviet Union is. However, we always find you where we are forced to do battle. Every circumstance has confirmed that you are the dedicated friends of freedom, progress and peace."

Cairo

Growing pressure on the dictatorship

Demonstrators capture downtown Seoul, while Washington tries to keep the Stars and Stripes flying over the insurgent citadel.

The tide of protest against the Chun Doo Hwan dictatorship has been mounting ever since he usurped power in 1980. There has been student action and the opposition has called for democratic reform, but this is probably the first time the entire country has been up in arms against the regime.

The unrest has affected all the major cities. Clouds of tear gas hover over Seoul. The masses of young people in the streets hurl stones and incendiary bottles at the police, who wear bullet-proof armour, helmets with the visors pulled down over their gas masks. At the scenes of scuffles and skirmishes, the pavements are ablaze. In one street demonstrators surrounded a police squad, tore off their gas masks and "forced them to breathe the air of Seoul," which is saturated with tear gas. Japanese television reports that in Seoul demonstrators seized six armoured security force buses and hurled incendiary bottles at several police stations. Powerless to cope with the mass action, the police wreak vengeance on those who cannot defend themselves; with incredible cruelty they dispersed a peaceful demonstration of 150 Buddhist monks.

On the night of June 17 the executive of the ruling party met and decided to resume talks with the opposition for constitutional reform. However, this belated decision passed unnoticed.

On June 19 the government issued a special statement threatening a state of emergency if the opposition did not call off its mass protest. On the same day the U.S. ambassador handed Chun Doo Hwan a personal message with "recommendations" from Ronald Reagan. Gaston J. Sigur, Jr., Assistant U.S. Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, has been dispatched to Seoul.

Commentators believe the regime to be extremely unstable. They compare the situation with that in the Philippines on the eve of the revolution there. According to the London Daily Telegraph, it is hard to imagine how such a government can hope to control the situation when its "legitimacy" relies exclusively on tear gas. The Times adds that even the middle classes are talking of a revolution.

"Down with the dictatorship!" "American forces out!" are the slogans behind which the overwhelming majority of the South Korean population are currently rallying. The people are in revolt against the U.S.-imposed regime. The present shock waves in South Korea are a consequence of the tragic partition of the country.

In the North and in the South

After the end of the last war, the question of partition arose in two countries, Germany and Korea. The German question was settled through the creation of the two independent states - the G.D.R. and the F.R.G. - which with the passage of time have established reciprocal relations. The Korean question, however, has remained open. Why?

At the Potsdam conference in the summer of 1945, the leaders of the three Allied powers settled on the 38th Parallel as the line of demarcation between the anti-Japanese military operations of the U.S. and Soviet troops in Korea. In this they proceeded from the premise that the forces of the two countries would encounter heavy fighting.

The Americans landed in South Korea on September 8, 1945, a month after the Soviet entry into the war with Japan. The following day the U.S. commander-in-chief accepted the Japanese surrender in Seoul. General MacArthur was in a hurry. In the space of only a day the Americans marched across half the country, as, unlike the Soviet troops, they met with no resistance, and rushed to occupy as large a portion of its territory as was possible.

The newly liberated people sought to assume power, and that is what happened in North Korea. In South Korea, however, General Hodge disbanded the people's committees and quashed left attempts to initiate democratic reform.

At the conference of the Soviet, U.S., and British foreign ministers in Moscow in late December 1945, the Korean issue was one of the matters discussed. The U.S. representative suggested placing Korea under a quadripartite trusteeship - that is, of the U.S.S.R., the U.S., Britain and China - for a period of five years, and doubling that term if necessary.

However, Moscow suggested that the people themselves should decide their country's destiny. After all, Korea had not been a wartime adversary of the Allies, having itself fallen victim to Japanese militarism. There was no reason to "punish" Korea; on the contrary, it should be given help. The Soviet proposal was that a provisional democratic government be set up to preside over national recovery.

With a few minor amendments this project was adopted. However, along with many other projects for a postwar restructuring, the decisions of the Moscow conference, the last meeting of ministers of the victor powers, were not to materialize. The Soviet-American commission's work was frustrated by Washington's insistence that a foreign troop pullout from the peninsula was not to be considered.

So what in fact then occurred in the American occupation zone?

The Americans brought in a so-called "provisional government" to Seoul from

Violence is used to disperse demonstrators

...but the police are still failing to stem the tide of anti-government action.

American troops in South Korea are the main prop of the Seoul regime.
TASS photos

Chungking, with Syngman Rhee at its head. Syngman Rhee's father had been a distant relative of the Korean imperial family, while he himself had attended an American school, had lived in Hawaii since 1913, and, ironically, had been awarded a degree by Princeton University for a paper on neutrality.

The U.S. Administration did everything in its power to prevent the formation of a single united democratic state. Overriding Soviet protest, the U.N. General Assembly dispatched a commission to South Korea to supervise the holding of separate elections on May 10, 1948. On July 20 Syngman Rhee was declared president with the backing of the U.S. army, and on August 15 the "Republic of Korea" was proclaimed. On December 12 the U.N. General Assembly recognized the Syngman Rhee cabinet as the "sole lawful government in Korean territory." The partitioning of the country was thus enshrined in law; as they controlled the majority vote in the U.N., the U.S. and its allies were in a position to push through any resolution they wanted. In this way the U.N. flag was used to sanction Washington's actions, and their fateful role in Korea's destiny.

South Korea found itself under the heel of a man who claimed that he alone knew what was best for the country. Anyone who disagreed with Syngman Rhee was pronounced a traitor, and death sentences were handed out left and right. Corruption was rife, while the concept of "human rights" was excluded from the official vocabulary. Meanwhile the American Freedoms Foundation awarded Syngman Rhee, along with Chiang Kai-shek and Ngo Dinh Diem, the Freedoms Medal.

After what had happened in Seoul elections had to be held in North Korea, and on September 9 the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was proclaimed. The Soviet Union recognized this state on October 12.

The war

Seoul started to organize its armed forces as early as 1946, though the U.S. was still talking about the need for national reunification. In 1949 President Truman declared in a message to Congress that Korea had become a theatre of the "ideological conflict between communism and democracy." He announced a long-term programme of military and economic aid, with Seoul receiving some 120 million dollars that same year. In March of the following year the U.S. Congress doubled allocations for the South Korean army.

The people of North Korea call the war that broke out on June 25, 1950 the Patriotic War. It caused the people of Korea untold suffering. General Douglas MacArthur, who commanded the troops fighting against the people of Korea, called on Washington to start hostilities against China as well and deliver a nuclear strike at its cities in retaliation for the help that people's volunteers from the P.R.C. had extended to their Korean neighbours. The Encyclopaedia Britannica puts the total losses in the war at 4 million people; 43 per cent of industrial enterprises and 33 per cent of housing were destroyed. The cities and towns of North Korea were hit hardest by U.S. bombings. In Pyongyang and elsewhere people told us bitterly that they could not show us many of the gems of ancient architecture, national shrines and Buddhist temples as they had been completely destroyed.

On July 27, 1953, Marshal Kim Il Sung, Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, Korean General Nam Il, General Peng Dehuai, commander of the Chinese people's volunteers, and General Clark, commander-in-chief of the "U.N. forces," signed a truce in Panmunjon.*

The truce is still in force. The troops on either side withdrew to positions two kilometres behind the lines, thus creating a four-kilometre-wide demilitarized zone.

Observance of the terms of the truce is supervised by a commission of neutral powers on which Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden and Switzerland are represented. In Panmunjon they have their own small building, where they meet to discuss controversial issues. More specifically, the neutral commission is mandated to ensure that no military reinforcements, weapons or munitions are imported into the country. However, the commission has no opportunity to discharge these obligations in South Korea. In 1957 the U.S. officially refused to observe the ban on the importation of new arms. The shipment of sophisticated weapons to South Korea continues.

The Chinese volunteers returned home in 1959. No foreign troops are stationed in North Korea.

Washington and Seoul

The rigged 1960 elections were the final straw. Though nearly half the votes cast for Syngman Rhee were found to be spurious, the "president" was bound to win, as a few weeks before polling day his rival had died. Student demonstrations began to spread all over South Korea. Frightened, Syngman Rhee fled to Hawaii. No doubt the U.S. embassy was pleased, as it

* When the war broke out, the U.N. Security Council denounced the D.P.R.K. as the aggressor and advised the world community to place its armed forces at the disposal of the U.S.-appointed united command. The Soviet delegate was unable to veto this resolution as he had walked out of the Security Council in protest against China's seat having been occupied by the Taiwan representative. The fifteen allies that the U.S. had at the time dispatched contingents to Korea. They were subsequently withdrawn, with only the U.S. forces remaining, but continuing to operate under the U.N. flag. It was only in 1975 at its 30th session that the General Assembly passed a resolution disbanding the U.N. troop command and withdrawing from the peninsula all foreign units flying the U.N. flag. The U.S. failed to honour the U.N. resolution.

needed a more acceptable figure. Syngman Rhee had continued to press for a war of conquest against North Korea. However, Washington had no wish to be embroiled in another military gamble. American politicians believed it far more important to continue to control South Korea.

The nine months of stormy demonstrations ended in a military coup, with Lieutenant General Park Chung Hee assuming power on May 16, 1961. This man, who had begun his military career as Lieutenant Okamoto in the Japanese army, graduated from an academy in Oklahoma after the war.

Park promulgated martial law, dissolved the national assembly and banned all political activity. The tyranny of Syngman Rhee was superseded by a still harsher dictatorship. The universities, the stronghold of the opposition, were closed down, student leaders imprisoned, and mass repressions launched after Park's wife was accidentally killed in an abortive attempt on her husband's life.

With the passage of time Park, like his predecessor, began to compromise his chief ally. There came a day when the State Department even recalled the U.S. ambassador from Seoul. This served, according to the U.S. journal Foreign Affairs, as the go-ahead for his rivals among the generals. In 1979 Park and his guards were killed by the director of the South Korean version of the CIA. Another group of officers took over, all of the military academy class of 1955, the first group to have taken the full four-year course of training under the supervision of U.S. instructors. At the head of the group was General Chun Doo Hwan, to this day the usurper of power in South Korea.

Washington has now completely forgotten about any troop pullout.* On the contrary, military cooperation with Seoul is increasing. Early in May new agreements were signed in Washington to airlift reinforcements from the U.S. and modernize munitions.

Some of the United States' allies, for example Japan, say it would be in the interests of universal security to agree to an unlimited American troop presence in South Korea, inasmuch as the million-strong South Korean army, which the Pentagon is outfitting with sophisticated equipment, is cause for serious alarm. While the combined forces are under the command of a four-star general from the Pentagon, there is greater hope that Seoul will not start a new war of "Korean reunification." If Seoul officers escape U.S. control, fears are voiced, they might thrust northwards. However, they forget that it is the American troop presence that is at the root of Seoul's brazen and bellicose stand, of its harsh suppression of the opposition, on the one hand, and its blocking of Pyongyang-proposed negotiations, on the other.

The Blue House, as the residence of the Seoul president is termed, has no doubt that human rights abuses will never invoke sanctions from Washington. After all, the regime is kept going exclusively by U.S. armed and financial support. On the other hand, the U.S. is clearly not averse to replacing Chun Doo Hwan with a new figure who would enjoy a better reputation in the eyes of the American public. So we come to a third round: Syngman Rhee and Park Chung Hee were removed as otherwise the rebelling nation would have rejected the Blue House incumbent. However, Chun Doo Hwan seems not to want to wait until he is removed; he has designated a successor, retired general Roh Tae Woo, who the New York Times believes will continue his predecessor's "policies which rest on a deep commitment to military readiness... and minimal tolerance for political dissent." He is of the same military academy class of 1955 as Chun Doo Hwan, with whom in the 1960s he fought in Vietnam, where he commanded the Tiger battalion. After Chun usurped power, he headed the defence security command, then he was made Minister of Home Affairs and Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the 1988 Olympic Games. In one of his first statements as president designate, he has threatened the "rioting young people" with severe penalties.

This was what sparked off the anti-government demonstrations on 65 university campuses. The students were backed by the official opposition, the National Movement for a Democratic Constitution, and factory and office employees. "This is a turn in the tide," Asahi notes, "as this is the first time since the 1979 demonstrations against Park Chung Hee that not only factory workers, but the population as a whole are demonstrating."

The democratic movement currently entertains hopes of success. A BBC television news commentator observed that the opposition has won a "moral" victory. News analysts believe the summer Olympic Games scheduled for next year in Seoul will be jeopardized should a state of emergency be promulgated or should demonstrators be crushed by tanks, as was the case in Kwangju seven years ago.

An Olympic breakdown will be more than a loss of face for Seoul. Vast sums have been invested in preparations for the Games, and unless the situation changes, the regime, the BBC says, will find itself on the brink of financial disaster. The chairman of the U.S. National Olympic Committee has already warned that American athletes will not go to Seoul unless calm is restored there.

The crisis in South Korea is an element of that world process in which authoritarian regimes yield to democracy, Secretary of State George Shultz has observed. It would be logical to presume that Washington will no longer give its support to a dictatorship that refuses to recognize a concept such as "human rights." The more so as the U.S. has powerful leverage for exerting pressure on South Korea, where more than 40,000 American servicemen are stationed, and this without reference to the fact that the U.S. is Seoul's biggest commercial partner. Washington's diplomacy is more active now, with the U.S. embassy in Seoul currently wooing the opposition - although, U.S. newsmen believe, its greatest fear is that the opposition will rally together and the regime be overthrown.

Senator Edward Kennedy has proposed a bill concerned with democracy in South Korea, which envisages economic sanctions against Seoul. A similar bill has been put before the House of Representatives.

Again and again, as is the case with South Africa and Chile, the Senator has said, the Reagan administration ignores movement towards democracy in other countries. What one hears from Secretary of State Shultz are calls for restraint instead for concrete measures to democratize the regime, he has noted.

And the Senator is right. As Shultz said, U.S. advice is to resume the dialogue between the government and the opposition so that democratic traditions are established in a mutually acceptable manner. He added that no sanctions would be imposed.

By all appearances, the U.S. is getting ready to change dictators; it is even not averse to making Seoul adjust its relations with North Korea - not however to rid South Korea of the dictatorship or terminate the enforced division and secure national reunification, but, on the contrary, perpetuate the partitioning of the peninsula along the 38th Parallel. Indeed, the U.S. has no Asian bridgehead other than this, and it is, moreover, saturated with nuclear weapons.

It is a bridgehead the Pentagon has no intention whatever of surrendering.

VLADIMIR ZHITOMIRSKY and
LEONID MLECHIN
our special correspondents
Pyongyang - Moscow

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* In 1976 the then U.S. Presidential candidate Jimmy Carter promised to withdraw U.S. troops from the Korean peninsula. However, the moment he entered the White House, he forgot his pledge. In June 1979 he visited Seoul, after which it was said that a withdrawal would be postponed at least until 1981, but that, on the other hand, military aid would be greatly increased. Between 1946 and 1986 Seoul received a total of 11 billion dollars from the U.S.

Of those not in the dock in Lyons

LEV BEZYMENSKY

The British military were by no means the first when, in 1944, they began to discuss the possibility of adopting an anti-Soviet policy and breaking the Allied commitments, and to consider enlisting "German support" after the war.

New Times readers know that the ideas that obsessed the anti-communists in the British General Staff in 1944 had figured in American war policy documents considerably earlier. In our issues Nos. 2 and 3 for 1986 we published Memorandum 121 compiled by the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS) for the Quebec meeting between Churchill and Roosevelt in August 1943. In that memorandum the possibility of turning the full might of a then still undefeated Germany against the Soviet Union was frankly advanced as one of the "alternatives" for the U.S.A. and Britain. Direct cooperation with the nazis was also considered. This outrageous "alternative" was turned down in Quebec.

Another document of the same order was compiled somewhat later - on December 2, 1944. Its author was General John Deane, former secretary to the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff (it was to him that the OSS submitted its Memorandum 121). Deane was now head of the American military mission in Moscow. In a personal letter to U.S. Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall he shared some impressions gleaned in the Soviet capital.

Deane's letter

"Everyone will agree on the importance of collaboration with Russia - now and in the future," Deane wrote. However, this evidently went against his grain and he had second thoughts on the subject.

"When the Red Army was back on its heels, it was right for us to give them all possible assistance with no questions asked," he wrote. "However, they are no longer back on their heels; and, if there is one thing they have plenty of, it's self-confidence. The situation has changed, but our policy has not."

This reasoning clearly strikes the same note as the notorious statement (1941) by the then Senator Truman to the effect that if Germany were winning the U.S. would have to help the Russians, but if the reverse happened, it should help the Germans. By the end of 1944 General Deane concluded that the time for assistance to the Soviet Union had passed.

What is noteworthy here is not so much the general's arrogance in assuming that we were doomed to rely on American assistance, as his persistence. In a dispatch to Washington a few months later he reiterated the same view:

"A new and serious situation has arisen. Not only have we a Russia that is victorious over the Germans, but one that is so sure of her strength as to assume an attitude of dominance with respect to her Allies."

Deane went on to declare:

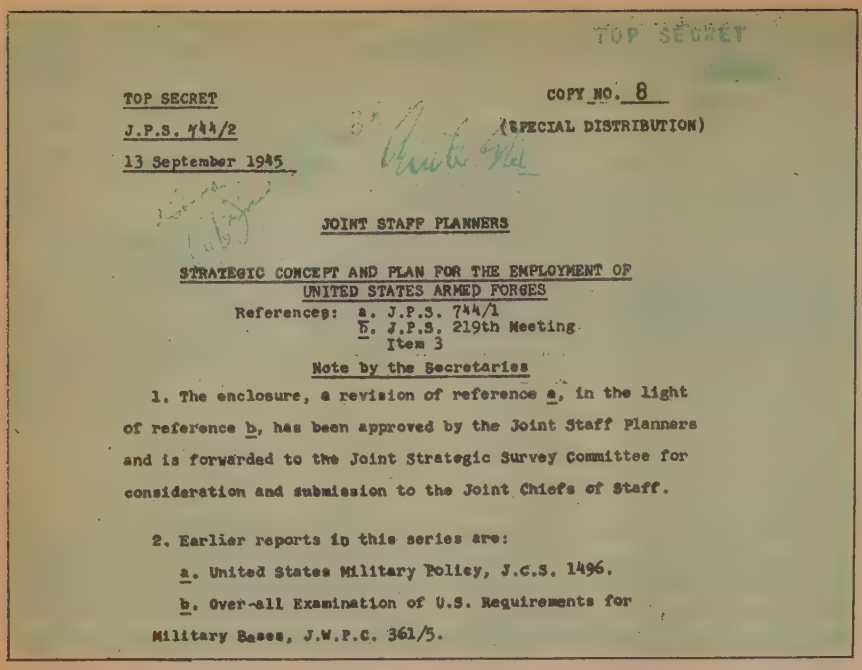
"At this stage of the war, military collaboration with the Soviet Union is not vital to the United States. Russia's timely and effective participation in the Far East is, of course, of great importance. I am certain, however, that Soviet participation in the Far East is assured in furtherance of their own interests."

The anti-communist Deane did not get a hearing in Teheran in 1943, nor did he get a hearing in 1945 in Yalta and Potsdam. Roosevelt's policy prevailed. But that did not mean that the opponents within the administration of equal collaboration with the U.S.S.R. had abandoned their subversive efforts. And when leaders of the Truman type came to power, the anti-Soviet plans were taken out of the safes and given a new and dangerous lease of life.

American historians, who not so long ago gained access to Joint Chiefs of Staff and State Department documents relating to 1944 and 1945, have noted that the closer victory the more actively was Roosevelt's policy opposed by many high-ranking military men and diplomats. Plans were already being hatched in these quarters for the opening of hostilities against the U.S.S.R. - concrete plans naming the cities that were to be the targets of bombing raids, atom-bombing included. At the same time political plans

Concluded. For the first instalment see No. 25.

Edwin Sibert, Bedell Smith and Allen Dulles. They hired Gehlen.



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J.P.S. 744/2

(SPECIAL DISTRIBUTION)

13 September 1945

JOINT STAFF PLANNERS

STRATEGIC CONCEPT AND PLAN FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES

References: a. J.P.S. 744/1
b. J.P.S. 219th Meeting Item 3

Note by the Secretaries

1. The enclosure, a revision of reference a, in the light of reference b, has been approved by the Joint Staff Planners and is forwarded to the Joint Strategic Survey Committee for consideration and submission to the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

2. Earlier reports in this series are:

a. United States Military Policy, J.C.S. 1496.

b. Over-all Examination of U.S. Requirements for Military Bases, J.W.P.C. 361/5.

First page of plan No. 744/2 of September 13, 1945.

that have gone down in postwar history as the first documents of "atomic diplomacy" were being drawn up.

That there existed a plan, dated November 1945, for the atom-bombing of our country is common knowledge. But it appears that there were similar plans before that. For instance, there is a document issued by the Joint War Plans Committee (series 633) dated July 1945 which considers the possibility of "a breakdown in the relations between the major powers" in the postwar period. The subsequent document, dated September 13, frankly envisages that "...the only major power with which the U.S. might come into conflict incapable of resolution under the United Nations Organization is the U.S.S.R."

And the idea was elaborated at length as follows:

"Even though it is unlikely that Russia can achieve scientific, technical, industrial, economic or military parity with the U.S. for several years, the war-making potential and the relative geographical positions of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are such as would probably preclude the overrunning of one nation by the other at least in the early stages of war. Our initial aim would be to confine Russia within her own borders and to obtain such strategic positions as are required to destroy her war potential.... The progress of the campaign would depend in great measure upon the relative state of preparedness of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to launch the first devastating blow and thereafter to sustain an all-out war."

Here it is - the first plan for an atomic war against the Soviet Union! The number of the document is 744/2 and the date - September 13, 1945 - immediately after the end of the war in the Far East!

It is noteworthy that even this first plan of aggression provided for active subversion and espionage against the U.S.S.R. Point 10 (b) called for the "establishment and maintenance of a worldwide intelligence and counterintelligence system capable of furnishing timely information not only of a purely military but also of a political, economic, industrial and scientific nature."

Another point spoke of the creation of a worldwide system of bases on which the military structure of the U.S. would be pivoted. For one thing, these bases could be used for atomic bombings of the U.S.S.R. by heavy B-29 bombers (the minimum distance from Iceland to Moscow being 2,000 miles and from Seattle to Petropavlovsk-on-Kamchatka, 3,300 miles). And the emphasis was repeatedly placed (Appendix B) on the need "to develop and maintain an intelligence system which would assure adequate information concerning military, political, economic and technological developments abroad...."

Historians must surely enter this document in the Black Book of this century, for it reveals with utmost clarity the aggressive substance of the American anti-communists' schemes. I do not speak of the smug self-assurance of the possessors of the atom bomb, who would magnanimously refrain from "overrunning the U.S.S.R. at the early stage of war."

Intelligence machinery in operation

It would, of course, be naive to assume that it was only after the war that the intelligence agencies of the West began working against the Soviet Union. Although this was officially prescribed by Roosevelt during the war, already in 1943 the U.S. special services, and primarily the OSS, headed by William Donovan, began deliberately violating the ban. OSS historian Antony Cave Brown dates this from early 1943, when Donovan decided to start sending spies into the Soviet Union. He filed a relevant request with the State Department which at once saw the danger of such a move.

"Our relations with Russia are such that... the repercussions could be serious both from a military point of view and politically," the diplomats argued.

The conclusion was correct. But the State Department's advice boiled down merely to recommending caution and working together with British Intelligence, which had offered its services as "intermediary."

As Brown established on the basis of Donovan's personal files, the first "official" spy operation against the U.S.S.R. was organized in September 1943, when a group of engineers from the firm Badger and Sons was sent to our country supposedly to instal oil refining equipment. In reality the "engineers" were to collect espionage information throughout the country, all the way to Vladivostok. Similar assignments were given to OSS agents sent to the countries of East and Southeast Europe liberated by the Soviet Army. One such group, code-named Bughouse, was sent to Romania. It was headed by one Frank Wisner, an agent from the Istanbul station, a lawyer by profession and an adventurist by choice, who became a pioneer of anti-Soviet activity under cover of "Allied cooperation." In Romania, Wisner quickly found a common language with the reactionary circles there and, above all, with the remnants of the royal secret police (Serviciul Secret).

Under these circumstances Gehlen's offer of his services fell on fertile soil. Gehlen was brought to Washington in the summer of 1945 by U.S. army officers directly subordinate to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Incidentally, something of an interregnum set in at this time in the U.S. "Intelligence community." In September 1945 the OSS was officially disbanded and its subdivisions became part of the State Department and the War Department. The enmity and rivalry that existed between the various intelligence services also played its part here, with army intelli-

gence (G-2 and CIC) gaining the upper hand.

Thus, army intelligence had every opportunity to carry out directive 744/2 calling for the establishment of a ramified and effective espionage system. Direct negotiations with Gehlen were conducted by General George V. Strong, chief of Army G-2, General Edwin L. Sibert, chief of the G-2 of the occupation forces in Germany, and G-2 officers of the War Department. Taking part in the talks were also former OSS chiefs William Donovan, Allen Dulles and, last but not least, Frank Wisner.

Under Wisner's wing

Who took patronage over Gehlen in Washington? The interregnum in the U.S. Intelligence community was soon ended. On January 22, 1946, Truman set up the Central Intelligence Group, and in 1947, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), consisting of OSS veterans, was founded. The CIA took in also a policy coordination body which for a time had been under the State Department and was headed by Frank Wisner. This was an organization engaging in "subversion on a world scale," as its purpose was defined by extremely well-informed person - the Soviet intelligence agent Kim Philby, who in the postwar years occupied the by no means unimportant post of representative of British Intelligence in the CIA.

Wisner's name also cropped up in the course of a study John Loftus, an American lawyer, made a question of interest to the American public: how had hundreds, thousands of former nazi criminals come to be in the United States? Loftus established that these people were in the U.S. as part of a far-reaching operation mounted by Wisner's department. Hatching plans for undermining socialist systems in Europe, Wisner was waging "an undeclared war against the Soviet Union," Loftus said. It was precisely for this purpose that the nazi General Gehlen with his organization of nazi spies and SS men was needed.

As time went on its role in U.S. political and military plans increased, edging out all other groups in the F.R.G. engaged in the espionage by absorbing their most experienced personnel. The aforementioned Augsburg and Six, too went over from the Petersen network to Gehlen (Six, true, after serving a term in an American prison for war crimes). Professor Achmeteli also turned up in the Gehlen organization. Moreover, the experts on occupation of Soviet territory went up in price.

If plan 744/2 did not envisage "overrunning" the Soviet Union, the plans drawn up in 1947-49 were a detailed blueprint for a future American occupation regime in the U.S.S.R. The so-called Broiler Plan, for instance, contained a table showing the disposition of 22 occupation divisions and 22 air units in 21 Soviet cities. The Dropshot Plan (1949) earmarked 38 divisions for this purpose. As regards subversive and intelligence operations, Dropshot bluntly states the following:

"The initiation or intensification of psychological, economic, and underground warfare ... would greatly enhance the chances of an early and successful conclusion of the war by assisting in overcoming the enemy's will to fight, sustaining the morale of friendly groups in enemy territory, and improving the morale of friendly countries and the attitude of neutral countries towards the Allies. This type of warfare has a peacetime application against the Soviets and towards friendly nations as well, but it should be greatly stepped up upon the outbreak of war.... It would require participation of all services to assist other agencies in its execution."

The dock at the Lyons trial is empty.

Paragraph 46 of the Eraser Plan (1948) set the task of initiating or intensifying political, psychological and underground warfare in the U.S.S.R., for which purpose it called for "establishing a National Psychological Warfare Organization which would be responsible to the National Security Council. This organization would in time of war be charged with all phases of planning, development, control and coordination of all psychological warfare activities."

Direct recommendation for the newly-born CIA! The "underground warfare" referred to in the Eraser Plan was designed to"encourage the growth and spread of anti-communist movements, provide aid to guerrilla forces."

These "fundamental principles," elaborated by the U.S. top military leadership, were carried into effect by the special services, Wisner's outfit included. Incidentally, among the documents relating to Wisner, John Loftus also came across the name of Klaus Barbie, who was on the CIA payroll until his Bolivian period. Military intelligence inquiries at the CIA about Barbie dated 1967 and 1969 are still extant. Herbert John, an expert on tracking down war criminals in Latin America, maintains that Barbie worked for the CIA up to 1972. This was admitted during the Lyons trial by Barbie's onetime secretary and bodyguard Alvaro de Castro.

Justice must be done!

Pierre Salinger, former White House press secretary and now a correspondent of the ABC television network, on arriving at Lyons to attend the Barbie trial, observed that today public opinion believes the role played by the U.S. secret services at the end of the war was none too good.

This, of course, is putting it mildly. The American (and with them the British and also the French) special services branded themselves with the mark of Cain when they chose to save the nazis from deserved retribution and to use them for espionage and subversion against the Soviet Union.

The facts testify that:

First. By establishing the Gehlen organization and systematically employing the services of the SS and other war criminals, the United States from the very outset violated the three-power Potsdam agreement, which called for the dissolution of the nazi party, the SS and the SA, and the severe punishment of all those guilty of crimes.

Second. By compacting with the SS, the United States violated the Nuremberg judgement which declared the entire SS organization criminal and demanded that its members be brought to trial.

As we have seen, these violations were committed consciously, with full awareness of all the consequences ensuing therefrom. Is this not ample grounds to demand that not Barbie alone but also his American patrons be placed in the dock in Lyons?

Lyons - Moscow

The colours of the Nagyscarnok market

VLADIMIR GERASIMOV

Strong steel structures form the framework of Budapest's central market - the Nagycsarnok. From the first-storey gallery there is an excellent view of the produce laid out for sale. "It is the oldest covered market in the country," Peter Czobor, director of the city's Covered Markets Department, told me. "It was designed by the well-known Hungarian architect Samu Pecz, a pupil of Gustave Eiffel, and built in 1897." The director devotes most of his attention to the Nagycsarnok Market (in Hungarian "nagycsarnok" means "grand pavilion"). His aim is to ensure a wider range and better quality of produce - both cheap and expensive - to meet all tastes and requirements, and to see that there are no hitches in trade. That is why he chose to have his office on the balcony, closer to centre of activity in Budapest's main market.

Despite the size of the light, transparent building and the large numbers of buyers, it is not a noisy place. No one haggles at a Hungarian market - it just isn't done. Prices are stated clearly on small metal blackboards. A prospective buyer either pays promptly for his purchase, or if it does not suit him looks elsewhere.

From cherries to paprika...

"Along the middle of the market there are two rows of state and cooperative shops, while private trading is conducted along the sides," Peter Czobor explained. "But the state shops," he added, "also sell cooperative farm produce. This increases the range of goods they offer. Moreover, some cooperatives, like those that sell packaged milk or meat products, find it does not pay to have an outlet of their own. They prefer to enter into an agreement with state retail outlets and leave the sales to them."

Peter Czobor, who is over 40, graduated from a college of economics and subsequently from the Higher School of Commerce. We went down to the ground floor. He kept up his running commentary as we made our way through the throngs of people, stopping only to shake hands with some of the vendors he knew well.

Hungarian markets are well stocked at any time of year. In spring they abound in cherries - both yellowish-red and black, the latter with a flavour unrivalled elsewhere. In summer, strawberries and raspberries abound, and later luscious peaches. In July there are melons and watermelons, while in August everyone is busy making jam from yellow apricots. In autumn you will find all the fruits of the bountiful crops produced by the orchards and fields: neat piles of vegetables and fruit, barrels of salted cabbage and pickled cucumber, grated marrow squashes to which bunches of dill are added. Then there are the amethyst-coloured onions - sweet and not too sharp -- that come from the town of Mako. On wooden plates you will find a selection for soups - parsley, celery, carrots and kohlrabi. Housewives find this very convenient. They usually come to the market with baskets and arrange everything carefully in them so as not to crush the delicate greenery.

Hungary's pride and an indispensable ingredient in any Hungarian dish are its peppers - paprika. There are many different varieties, each with its own special use. Some are suitable only for pickling, others for stuffing, others for making the traditionall lecso, and others still for salads.

We stopped at one of the stalls with dried peppers, bright red in colour, strung on threads. This is the paprika-csereszne used to make a very tasty fish soup - red in colour and bringing tears to the eyes of the uninitiated.

"This stall," said the director, "is run by Arminne Spilyman, who is probably the same age as the market. She has always specialized exclusively in paprika."

At big markets in Hungary, most of the stall-holders are regulars. They purchase the produce at the special wholesale markets controlled by state bodies. Cooperatives and individuals also bring their produce to these markets. The tax from these sales is determined by state inspectors. So at the big markets you will not find individual farmers selling their produce: there are more important things for them to do in the fields and stock-raising farms and on their own household plots.

Cooperatives and state farms buy the produce of orchards and household plots from the farmers right on the spot and ensure their delivery to trade outlets both in retail and wholesale markets. Moreover, any state shop will buy surplus produce grown on private plots as long as the quality is up to the standard. You will occasionally find farmers selling poultry, curds or a couple of sacks of potatoes, carrots or radishes. But they are for the most part pensioners, elderly women. And it is not they who determine the turnover, supply and variety of goods on market stalls.

This dualism - a retail market and a wholesale one - has developed and functions successfully because the "backup" production complex - household plots - has been put on a modern footing in Hungary. In the seventies, 30 per cent of the private producers' output was sold at the market and through the state and cooperative network, and 70 per cent was consumed in the family. Now the situation has been reversed: 65 per cent of this output goes for public consumption. And if it were not for the contract purchasing of surpluses and the wholesale markets, the private producers would have had to set up their own sales outlets or stand for days at markets selling their. produce.

"The state is interested in a discreetly taxed, well-run market trade. It helps supply the population of the capital with food," explained Peter Czobor. "The market has its own rhythm, its own rules, atmosphere. Prices and the fruit of the farmers' labour compete here. There are times when prices drop in a matter of minutes. If in the morning the state shops are supplied with sufficient vegetables, fruit, meat, poultry and fish, that determines the pace of trade and market prices. There is no use trying to impose statutory prices - produce would simply disappear from the stalls. The only way to influence prices is to make more goods available. Then, the prices of private produce can fall even below state prices. And that," added the director, "means we are really doing our job. The only price ceiling we set is for potatoes. That is a government decision, and our inspectors see to it that it is strictly implemented. We are also against any trade outside the market that escapes our control."

Problems and solutions

That same evening I accompanied the director to a Budapest suburb - Bosnyak Square - the site of the wholesale vegetable market that supplies Nagycsarnok. It operates from dusk to dawn. The atmosphere is entirely different - noisy and excited. We heard the squeal of the brakes of cooperative vans, saw young men unloading boxes filled with fruit and vegetables. Women wearing traditional Hungarian village dress - frilly black skirts and coloured jumpers - were laying out packages of carrots, parsley and radishes. The red peppers were packed in 25-kg plastic bags. Hot-house tomatoes were in boxes.

"Van owners pay a certain parking fee," he said. "And after they've unloaded, a certain sum for each square metre they occupy. First, all the produce is unloaded and our inspectors assess its value. Trading begins when they have finished. By morning the square has emptied. Deals have been struck, and the vegetables have been delivered to market stalls and shops."

The market has its problems, of course. I made the acquaintance of Zsuzsa Tarjan, an inspector for the Hungarian Consumers' Council - a public organization that controls trade and markets and defends the interests of consumers. She told me that several years ago at the wholesale market in Bosnyak Square, through which more than half the turnover of Budapest's markets passes, the cooperatives built 21 warehouses and offices to buy and supply the shops and restaurants of the capital with fruit and vegetables. No objections were raised to start with. The Hungarian Consumers' Council only stepped in when some of the offices began selling their surplus to other city shops and factory canteens at higher prices, thus making a profit without working for it. This is forbidden by law.

The presence of farm cooperatives and state farms at the wholesale market is a very good thing. They not only sell their own produce, but buy from private producers, thus avoiding wasting vegetables and fruit that are in oversupply, as they have proper storage facilities. Wholesalers from the provinces also travel to Bosnyak Square, taking back with them 30 per cent of the produce daily to other towns in the vicinity and nearby villages.

The inspectors watch carefully to see that no deals go through without proper receipts and payment of taxes. If anyone is noticed shortchanging customers, he is fined to begin with 1,000 forints. For a second offence, the fine is greatly increased. A third offence means the seller is suspended from using the market. Suspensions imposed by the management of the Nagycsarnok for various violations can be for two days, a week or even a month.

A great help

The Hungarian press keeps a constant eye on the operation and development of the country's markets. Each week the national newspapers and the economic weekly Figyelò carry reports on market prices, show their dynamics, and draw the attention of trade and purchasing organizations to commodities that are in short supply or overpriced.

When night falls on Bosnyak Square, all the smells seem to become more pungent. Inspectors in white smocks with black satchels count their money. Those who have sold their produce make their way to the local all-night café. They call it jestingly the Salad Bar. Its director, Janos Galambos, a tall, broad-shouldered man with the hands of a boxer, welcomes his customers and helps serve them quickly. In a free moment he told me that the wholesale market is expanding all the time. Cooperative vans come from as far as Szeged and other equally distant places. Sometimes two or three farmers' families get together and hire a van from the cooperative or the transport agency Volan, and bring in their own produce. So there are always lots of people, and the café is busy all night long. Janos Galambos himself has been in charge for more than 20 years, knows many of his customers and can say what part of the country they come from

Budapest's central market is always crowded.

The market senior inspector dropped into the café. From him I learned that last year market areas had been increased by 30 per cent and a quicker and more efficient method of certifying deals had been introduced. So now even in the autumn peak months , farmers spend only an hour or an hour-and-a-half on paper work. Discipline has been improved and controls tightened.

Peter Czobor told me that almost 200 thousand tons of produce passed each year through the central and wholesale and the seven other markets under his administration. About half this amount comes from state enterprises and the rest from cooperatives and private allotments. But in the autumn the ratio is different - 70 per cent from the cooperatives and private sector and 30 per cent from the state sector.

All in all, Budapest has 50 markets. They are open from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and work an hour longer on Fridays.

"Forty of these markets are run by the district councils," the deputy chief of the City Council's Trade Department Vilmos Kover told me when I met him later for a summing up.

The Covered Markets Department and the markets subordinate to the district councils cooperate and compete in providing optimum services for the population. In summer they open additional temporary stalls. Special attention is paid to the trade in vegetables. As Vilmos Köver said, there are 350 state and cooperative shops in the city specializing in the sale of fruit and vegetables.

Another three covered markets opened recently in new residential districts in Budapest. They have been sited right next to supermarkets, restaurants and express bars. Another wholesale market has been built in Csepel and there are plans to expand Nagycsarnok. The old cellars in the basement will be replaced with a big state supermarket. Storage facilities are being mechanized. And additional facilities are to be provided for vendors. There will be more storage space. So they can rent not only scales, but also refrigerators. The stairs will be replaced by escalators taking you up to the gallery, where besides the director's offices there will be flower stalls and cafés.

So market trade is continuing to grow. It is seen as a great help in supplying food to the population.

Budapest

Jerusalem crucified

The rays of the morning sun splash the ancient stones of Jerusalem with gold, play on its silver and gilt church cupolas and mosque domes, suffusing them with a brilliant glow; slender arrow-straight cypresses tower above islets of lush greenery. Crowds of tourists and pilgrims flock to the Christian, Muslim and Jewish shrines. Shops selling souvenirs and Oriental curios and catering to all tastes and purses are doing brisk trade. Guidebooks advertise the historical relics and treasures of civilization Jerusalem is famed for. However, the recent history of the Holy city is marred by many tragic incidents that travel agencies prefer not to mention in their brochures.

A man in Israeli military uniform broke into Jerusalem's Al Aksa mosque and opened fire on the Arabs who were praying there. An extremist fanatic threw a hand grenade into a demonstration of Israelis demanding an end to the aggression against Lebanon. Orthodox Jews stoned the car of an Israeli who had dared to get behind the wheel on a Saturday and thus "broke the Sabbath." The Arab residents of East Jerusalem took to the streets in protest against the decision to pull the old Arab neighbourhoods down and build new housing developments for Jewish immigrants instead.

Relics of hoary antiquity

Jerusalem is as holy to Muslims as Mecca and Medina are. They call it El Quds (holy city). Incidentally, early Muslims used to pray with their faces turned towards Jerusalem, not Mecca. It was in Jerusalem that Allah is believed to have communicated his teaching to the Arabs through the prophet Mohammed whom Buraq, a winged horse, had magically flown there from Mecca. The chief places of pilgrimage for Muslims are the Al Aksa mosque, from which Mohammed is said to have ascended to Allah in heaven, and the old octagonal mosque of Omar (Dome of the Rock) with the sacred stone inside.

The city is honoured as the cradle of Judaism. The very word Jerusalem (derived from the Hebrew Yerushalayim) means "town of peace." Jews make pilgrimages to the Wailing Wall, the ruins of what is believed to have been the old Judaic temple of Solomon. The Wall also forms the western part of the Muslim religious complex of Haram esh-Sherif, dominated by the Al Aksa and Omar mosques.

Every year millions of Christians pour into the rotonda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In Jerusalem, there are road signs indicating Via Dolorosa, the doleful path Jesus is believed to take to Calvary, showered with blows and abuse and bowed under the burden of the cross he was then crucified on.

The history of Jerusalem, which emerged on one of the world's busiest crossroads, is part of the history of the whole of Palestine. It has been tortuous and tragic. Zionists falsify it and try to justify their expansionist policy by allusions to mythical "Biblical rights," which supposedly legalize their rule over Jerusalem and Palestine in general.

Resolution No.181 of the U.N. General Assembly on the partition of Palestine into two states, Jewish and Arab (November, 1947), made Jerusalem and its environs a self-contained U.N.-controlled entity enjoying a special international status. The city was proclaimed demilitarized and neutral. Free access to its shrines was allowed to all.

Zionists breached this resolution, however. In the course of the 1948-49 war, provoked by Tel Aviv, they captured the western part of the city and drove almost the entire Arab population out of it. Jordan took over the control of East Jerusalem then, and the city was divided.

Many Israeli state institutions moved to the western sector in violation of the U.N. resolution. In December 1949, the United Nations urged the Israeli government to call off its illegal operations. In yet another demonstration of its disregard for international public opinion, in January 1950 Israel made West Jerusalem its capital. Ben-Gurion, the then Prime Minister of Israel, referred to the U.N. resolution as "malicious" and derived the Knesset's decision directly from "the law laid down by King David in the year 1000 B.C.," in whose reign Jerusalem had been the capital of an Israeli-Judaic kingdom. It was this "historical argument" rather than modern international law that Tel Aviv chose to go by.

In pursuance of its expansionist policy, Israel next unleashed the aggressive war of 1967, capturing such Arab territories as the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip - and East Jerusalem. "We have retrieved the second part of our capital, Jerusalem, never to part with it," the then Defence Minister Moshe Dayan said, once again invoking the "Biblical historic rights."

Topsy-turvy

This reasoning turns everything upside down. It is enough to refer to the stand taken on the issue by the International Court of Justice, which has repeatedly pointed out that historical, religious, archaeological and other such evidence provide no legal grounds for occupying other countries' territories and for the abuses of the occupation regime. The United Nations is of the opinion that East Jerusalem, like the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, are temporarily occupied territories, and that the international conventions defining the duties of an occupying state apply to it. As a signatory to the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, Israel is obliged to abide by these documents.

Immediately after they captured Jerusalem, however, the Zionists went ahead with implementing the concept of its "retrieval and reunification." The specific measures taken to "unify" the city included the extension of municipal transport routes, integration of water-supply, sewerage and telephone networks, the removal of railings between Jewish and Arab neighbourhoods, and the introduction of Israeli currency throughout. On June 28, 1967, a resolution was published on the annexation of East Jerusalem by Israel and on the extension of Israeli laws

There are only four Arab families left in Jerusalem's suburb of Jila which is being converted into an all-Jewish housing development.

Palestinian women fighting Israeli police in East Jerusalem.

Shrines of Islam and Judaism: the Haram esh-Sherif religious complex and the Wailing Wall.

From National Geographic (U.S.A.)

to the entire city. From then on Zionists felt free to "Judaicize" the city which, from their viewpoint, became "legally" a part of Israel rather than an illegally occupied territory.

The annexation was formalized in July 1980, when the Knesset passed a law proclaiming the "united" Jerusalem "the eternal, indivisible capital of Israel." Shortly afterwards, a scheme for its development over the next 25 years was made public. This act provoked indignation in the Arab countries and all over the world.

Nevertheless, Israel's rulers remained true to type and again ignored the opinion of the international community. They had the backing of Washington in their expansionist policy. In the seventies alone, Washington used its right of veto in the Security Council more than twenty times, each time foiling resolutions demanding that Israeli troops be withdrawn from the occupied Arab territories. In the eighties, American support for Israel (including that on the "Jerusalem issue") became more active still. President Reagan said, for instance, that he would prefer Jerusalem to remain an undivided city under Israeli sovereignty.

Ousting Arabs

As a result of systematic expulsions, Jerusalem's Arab population has shrunk by 80,000, and its Jewish population swelled by 100,000 towards the early eighties as against 1967. According to the Palestinian magazine Al Ard, about 100,000 donums of land have been confiscated from the Arabs of Jerusalem and its suburbs (one donum equals 910 square metres).

The development of new Jewish neighbourhoods and settlements around the city goes to show that the idea is to isolate the eastern sector's Arab population from the West Bank of the Jordan. The Israelis have already surrounded Jerusalem with a solid ring of new housing developments. Twelve Arab villages have been razed to the ground, to be replaced by a belt of militarized Israeli settlements.

All this is in line with far-reaching political objectives. The Tel Aviv rulers hope in the long run to separate the Jerusalem issue from that of the occupied Arab territories, with a view to giving the city's direct annexation a semblance of legality. Although various Zionist parties are divided on tactics for achieving a settlement in the Middle East, they are at one in their approach to the Jerusalem problem and adhere to an implacable and extremely nationalist position.

The Arab neighbourhoods complete with homes, shops and mosques are being mercilessly pulled down. Many Arab neighbourhoods and historical monuments have been replaced by "monuments" of Israeli occupation - soulless ferroconcrete blocks. The Israeli authorities make life unbearable for Arab slum dwellers. Jerusalem Arabs, R. al-Khatib, the ex-mayor of East Jerusalem, writes, are deprived of municipal self-government; their lot is unskilled work and growing unemployment. The occupiers are trying to erase the Palestinians' sense of national identity, profaning their cultural and spiritual values.

Unceasing attempts are being made to destroy the Al Aksa mosque. The encroachments on this priceless historical monument are "justified" by "a search for the remnants of the temple of Solomon" which, Israeli rabbis claim, are to be found under the site of the mosque. Fanatics have gone so far as to steal a dozen or so logs from the Al Aksa mosque as "belonging to the temple of Solomon." In time, they say, the temple will be rebuilt on the ruins of the Muslim religious complex. And this in spite of the special U.N. resolution forbidding any excavations that might endanger Muslim shrines in the occupied Arab territories.

Muslims the world over, in Arab countries especially, are extremely sensitive to any encroachments on their sanctuaries and to attempts to take these places away from them. A fire in Al Aksa mosque, started by Zionists in August 1969, sparked an extensive campaign by Muslim states to protect the shrines of Islam and Jerusalem. A month later, the heads of Muslim states met in Rabat to set up the Organization of Islamic Conference. Since then the members of this organization have announced on many occasions that they would reject any plan for the solution of the Palestine problem which did not provide for the liberation of Jerusalem. In a number of proposals for a settlement in the Middle East put forward by Arab countries, Jerusalem or its eastern sector are named as the capital of the future state of Palestine.

One of the toughest problems

The Israeli government has somewhat relaxed the occupation regime of late by allowing free access to the city's holy places and even granting self-government to Muslims in religious matters. This tactical move is largely motivated by the desire to reduce the problem of state sovereignty over Jerusalem to that of access to the holy places. On the rest of the issues involved, Israel and the Arab states are poles apart, which makes the Jerusalem question a biggest stumbling block in the way to a settlement in the Middle East.

The continued Israeli occupation of Jerusalem is a serious obstacle to a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. This is why the Soviet programme for a Middle East settlement provides for the return of East Jerusalem to the Arabs and for its becoming an inalienable part of the state of Palestine. In its approach to the issue, the U.S.S.R. proceeds from the fact that East Jerusalem is part of the Arab lands occupied by Israel in 1967; its fate must therefore be decided in the context of the problem of the Israeli troops' withdrawal from those territories.

Yuri SEDOV

One "gate" after another

Few events have left such a deep imprint in U.S. political life as the Watergate scandal. It happened 15 years ago, in June 1972. Starting with the arrest of five men who broke into Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate Hotel one night, it gradually acquired sensational proportions through various "leaks" of information, until it finally developed into a national crisis.

The picture of the morals of official Washington that was exposed to the public eye at that time was an ugly one. It was a mosaic of political espionage, infiltration of agents into the ranks of the rival party, eavesdropping on telephone conversations, circulation of false rumours, financial abuses during the election campaign, and the concealment of the truth in the course of the investigation. Government agencies - the CIA and the FBI - supplied the personnel and the equipment for the Watergate operation. In the upshot, the threads led to the White House. How it all ended is common knowledge.

And now, 15 years later, we have Irangate. Of course the two scandals differ not only as regards the lapse of time between them. The first was an internal American affair, the second is international in dimension. Then it was a break-in with a jemmy, this time it is a case of adding fuel to the flames of the conflict in the Persian Gulf, of support of forces seeking to overthrow the lawful government of sovereign, independent Nicaragua. Nevertheless, the very word "Irangate" is an indication of the kinship of the two scandals. Again the White House is involved. As before, it is a matter of unsavoury machinations of high-ranking administration officials, again violations of U.S. law by the executive branch, again evidence is being destroyed.

At present the attention of the American press is focussed on the question of whether President Reagan knew all about it or not, and if he did, how big is his personal role in the unlawful operations? Comparing the two cases, it is said that whereas Nixon was "got rid of," it looks as if an effort might be made to save the more popular Reagan.

But the two "gates" do have a common denominator. In both cases the dramatis personae are rabid anti-communists, reared in the spirit of the cold war.

Some of the Watergate burglars had taken part in the U.S. invasion of Cuba in 1961; two had been in the service of the Cuban dictator Batista. One had been a member of the group of killers who were to assassinate Fidel Castro. Their mentor - one Gordon Liddy, a former FBI agent, was a pathological anti-Communist.

The Irangate figures are of course of a bigger calibre, but of the same hue. Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, one of the top men in the Irangate affair, has a Vietnam past. And he took part in the meeting of counterrevolutionaries from Nicaragua, Laos, Afghanistan and Angola held on Angolan territory under UNITA aegis in 1985. A bloody trail was left on Vietnam soil by the U.S. flyer Eugene Hasenfus, who carrying another consignment of arms to the contras, was shot down over Nicaragua. Retired General John Singlaub, reportedly the ideological inspirer of the whole operation, was chief of staff of the U.S. forces in South Korea, and later, president of the so-called World Anti-Communist League. Even before the supply of arms to Iran began, the White House, to gain the confidence of its Iranian partners, passed on to Teheran information about a group of People's (Tudeh) Party leaders, on the strength of which executions were carried out by the Iranian authorities. This was revealed in the report made by Senator John Tower.

And, lastly, the political climate of official Washington. John Dean, one of the principals in the Watergate affair, testified in court that for anyone acquainted with the atmosphere prevailing in the White House, the Watergate affair was the inevitable product of the climate of excessive preoccupation with the political consequences of the demonstrations against the "dirty war" in Vietnam, acute anxiety about leakages of information, and an insatiable appetite for political espionage in violation of the law.

What is the picture today? It is a picture of deception of the Congress, deception of the American people. A picture of amazing chaos in the machinery of government, where, as Lee Hamilton, chairman of the House Select Committee investigating the Irangate affair, said, there is a lack of personal responsibility and the American Constitution is not observed. In short, deception and lawlessness, as was the case 15 years ago.

SERGEI BOGATOV

The belief is current that we are very sensitive to what is thought and said about us abroad. Perhaps there was a reason for this. Perhaps it was that we often ignored prophets in our own country. Or perhaps the reason lay elsewhere. I don't know. I am writing these notes on the basis of impressions rather than comprehensive knowledge, and I do not claim to cover the subject completely.

Sounds and clichés

Obvious clichés are often resorted to in writing about jazz, Soviet jazz included, by authors who are not, for the most part, musicians. Thus, Newsweek wrote favourably about jazz in the U.S.S.R. in 1965 as the "sounds of the thaw." The usual pattern in these writings is the text, a small part of which is about music, while the rest is given over to politics and spicy rumours.

And what do the experts have to say? Leonard Feather, the greatest authority on jazz and the compiler of "Encyclopedia of Jazz," visited the U.S.S.R. in 1962 to familiarize himself with the jazz scene in the Soviet Union. Writing about what he had heard in the Soviet Union in the magazine Down Beat, he used such expressions as "extraordinary jazz talents," "genuinely original style," "remarkable technique." And he concluded his article with the words: "We gained more than we ever expected."

Another expert, Willis Conover, the world fame of whose daily jazz programmes for 30 years on the Voice of America did much for the radio station's popularity and for young people's American accent in many countries, described his impressions of Soviet jazz in 1965 with such words as "complete command," "originality," "beautiful passages," "pure musical fire," "patriotic though we never discussed politics," "modest almost to the point of self-effacement." And his conclusion was as follows: "We should hear more Soviet jazzmen."

Such is the gist of the view of Soviet jazz music that had become general by the eighties, when Soviet jazz groups started appearing more often at international festivals and on guest performances in various parts of the world. Prior to that, Western musicians or commentators could only get an idea of Soviet jazz from rare and seemingly chance performances of Soviet jazzmen at the Warsaw or Prague jazz music festivals, or from information provided by those who had acquired reputations as experts on Soviet jazz. I found myself in the latter category as in 1972 I published a voluminous work "Soviet Jazz" and my articles appeared regularly in Jazz Forum, published by the International Jazz Federation, in whose foundation I was actively involved, along with Alexander Tsfasman.

It should be said in all fairness,

Variations on a jazz theme

though, that writings about Soviet jazz in the Western press are often superficial and supercilious, characterized by political hostility.

Forbidden fruit no more!

A seemingly serious author publishing articles in a serious magazine would write ironically that group improvisation is a manifestation of communist ideology, or even surmise that a jazzman needs permission from high-ranking authorities to play solo. I even think sometimes that Soviet jazz was extolled in the West for as long as they thought it to be clandestine and prohibited. But as soon as the news spread in the West that jazz in the U.S.S.R. has been "permitted," it became a target for gibes.

I also think that to a certain extent rivalry, whether political or economic, has been another reason for fault-finding with Soviet jazz from the time it started to command attention on the world scene. The newly-founded American firm East Wind, which has bought the Melodiya franchise to release Soviet jazz recordings in North America, asked me to write promotional material on the sleeves, and my slightly critical remarks about a certain group were deleted by one of the firm's editors. "It's bad advertising," I was told.

Soviet jazz has come to be regarded on the world scene as a competitive commodity with considerable drawing power. "Western musicians, be ever on the alert!" the American jazz magazine Cadence wrote recently with regard to "the Russian jazz menace."

The magazine Jazz Forum placed Chekasin, Tarasov, Lukyanov and Tatevik Oganesyan among the best jazz musicians in Europe. Chekasin was even classed with the best musicians of the year for 1986.

It must be taken into consideration that the performances of Soviet jazzmen abroad, and the growing prestige of Soviet jazz (the prestige of one kind of Soviet art, after all) are largely, if not decisively, due to enthusiastic efforts by individuals, rather than to Soviet organizations. Several dozen discs of Soviet avant-garde jazz that are on sale everywhere in the West and compete easily with Melodiya discs were released by Leo's owner. (The recordings were made in a way that was not entirely legal.) Does this seem enough to those who are entrusted with the task of popularizing Soviet music abroad? Especially in view of the fact that there is much interest in new phenomena in Soviet jazz music, new work by Vladimir Chekasin, Sergei Kurekhin, the Arkhangelsk group, Vyacheslav Gaivoronsky and the Vladimir Volkov duo, Siberian musicians.

Vladimir Chekasin jazzes it up.
Photo by V. Bertov

"There is a brand new country on the map in terms of creative, improvised music," Francis Davis wrote in the magazine Down Beat. "Everybody is now saying that world jazz in the 1980-90s will possibly be Russian." I was told this by Tomasz Tluczkewicz, president of the Polish jazz society. Soviet avant-garde jazz was to be presented at the Warsaw Jazz Jamboree in 1986, but the idea did not materialize. The Urals Dixieland group was sent to Warsaw, and a disservice was thus done to the musicians, who by virtue of their style were out of place there.

European jazz is now looking for new departures. Efforts are being made to overcome the emphasis on Americanism in the perception and appraisal of jazz. This was manifested by the foundation of the European Jazz Federation 20 years ago (it is now the International Jazz Federation), and the support for all truly original artistic phenomena, from the Germanic-Scandinavian principles of jazz recording by the ECM to open forms of free improvisation. Our avant-garde jazz is developing in just this mainstream and should have inspired the interest of the officials at the Ministry of Culture. It has not. What is the reason? I have no way of knowing.

Professionalism and confidence

Even the more classical forms of jazz are not advertised by our organizations as they should be. The U.S.S.R. concert agency (Gosconcert) does not even have booklets about Soviet jazz, let alone video cassettes.

When planning tours by jazz groups, it is vitally important to decide correctly which to select and what itinerary it should take. Moreover, it is time to start investing in the export of jazz. Then there will be returns both commercially and socially. Thus, Leonid Chizhik and Allegro were a success at the 1982 festival in Pori, Finland. "Impeccable musicianship, taste and orignality.... after 10 years of unsuccessful negotiations," Down Beat wrote. "The results were worth waiting for." And what about the praise accorded to Chizhik during his guest performances in the F.R.G. in the summer of 1985? And the triumph of Allegro at the Jazz Yatra in Bombay in 1984, when the newspapers wrote that all other competitors at the festival should go to Moscow to learn to play jazz! Alexei Kuznetsov's trio was highly commended there, too. A newspaper caption read: "Russians stole the show from Yankees." And what about the sensation created first by Urals Dixieland and then, in 1987, by the Riga quartet Retro, the living history of jazz, at the Dresden festival of traditional jazz? There are many more such examples but, I repeat, there are horses for courses and it is very important to know what group would be most appropriate at any given event.

In conclusion, I would still like to express the conviction of a professional that Soviet jazz can be a success in virtually every country in Europe, Asia and America, in the United States itself, where they certainly know what jazz is about. Jazz can bring a country the same prestige as famous theatrical companies. What is needed is competence, professionalism and confidence in the art of jazz.

ALEXEI BATASHEV

A year-long Festival of India in the U.S.S.R. starts in Moscow on July 3. It will be opened by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

Dialogue of two cultures

"Long live queues!"

It was with this unconventional exclamation that Mr Diljit Arora, the Indian government official responsible for the preparations for the Festival of India in the U.S.S.R., began his conversation with your correspondent.

Pausing after so unorthodox a preamble, the Director-General of the Festival of India committee smiled mischievously and added, to get his point across: "Long live queues for tickets to concert halls! Praise be to crowds outside theatres! Three cheers for music lovers looking for 'spare tickets' for sellouts at the conservatoire and long lines for admission to art galleries!

"Such craving for culture and thirst for knowledge is only to be found in the Soviet Union," he continued. "This is why I am beside myself with joy that I've been made responsible for organizing India's national festival in your country. Helping representatives of our culture and art prepare for the meeting with Soviet people is a gratifying job, demanding, but very rewarding."

"My magazine," I told him, "has already familiarized its readers with the festival's programme in detail (issue 4 for the current year) including performances by musicians, dancers and singers, theatrical productions, various exhibitions, film screenings, seminars, conferences, sporting events and even arrangements to enable Soviet people to sample Indian national cuisine. For this reason, rather than once again listing the numerous items on the 12-month festival's programme, we would like you to tell us about its main message."

"We want to introduce Soviet people to the concept and philosophy of Indian culture rather than just give a superficial impression of it. In other words, we are hoping that through traditional Indian art with its different varieties and forms, they will be able to gain some insight into our people."

"What are the distinctive features of Indian art?"

"Its philosophy is different from that of arts in other countries, especially in Europe. It is probably not widely known in the Soviet Union that we have few professional actors. Our dances and folk shows are a spontaneous expression of the spirit of the nation. People practise art on their own. Our folk dances, for example, are mostly performed by ordinary peasants. They dance on makeshift stages, without setting themselves any time limits for as long as they feel the people around them are enjoying it."

"In that case those who come to the Soviet Union won't be professionals?"

"Forty-five per cent of the 3,000-strong Indian delegation will be professional exponents of different arts, while the rest will be amateurs - the true representatives of folk art."

"What is the place of the Festival of India in the U.S.S.R. in the context of political relations between our two countries?"

"Let me put it this way. Until very recently many people in India have believed that the U.S.S.R. is monotonous, that life there is preoccupied with building tractors and the like, and that this is expressed in the figures of a labourer and a woman collective farm worker. The stereotype has been forged by Western propaganda, but your own information and propaganda activities have left much to be desired as well. However, the image of your country has been rapidly changing for the better since you launched your reforms! I say all this to underline the importance of different nations getting to know each other better. My personal aim is to make sure that the forthcoming Festival of India in the U.S.S.R. gives added strength to the basis for our cooperation at state level."

"An 18-month Festival of India recently ended in the United States. What will be the difference between it and the one in the U.S.S.R.?"

"It will be colossal. In the United States we sought simply to acquaint Americans with India, as it is still popularly believed there that this country is a land of maharajas and snake-charmers. What will take place in the U.S.S.R., by contrast, will be a dialogue, an informal dialogue between two nations living on opposite sides of the Himalayas. That mountain range, however, has never been a hindrance to cooperation between us. That is why the seeds the festival is to sow will fall on cultivated soil."

"True. Our notions of India are, of course, different from what is believed elsewhere. The Soviet people know that India is inhabited not by maharajas and snake-charmers but by a multinational people who have enableld their country to join the ten leading industrial nations in the world, build satellites and geophysical rockets and achieve third place on the planet, after the Soviet Union and the United States, for the number of scientists and technicians. How will these aspects of India's life today be reflected at the festival?"

"The festival, as you know, is timed to coincide with the 40th anniversry of India's independence, and so we would like to show the progress made by our independent state. There will be all sorts of exhibitions demonstrating its achievements in science and technology, as well as in the social field. There will be seminars and symposia on different aspects of India's political, economic and social life today, to be attended by Indian and Soviet scientists and public figures."

"A special part of the festival's programme provides for stylized shows to give Soviet people an idea of the pace of life in modern India. Using the power of art and the language of symbols we shall try to present India both as an ancient Oriental nation and a modern state preparing to enter the 21st century."

LEONID ZHEGALOV
our own correspondent

Delhi

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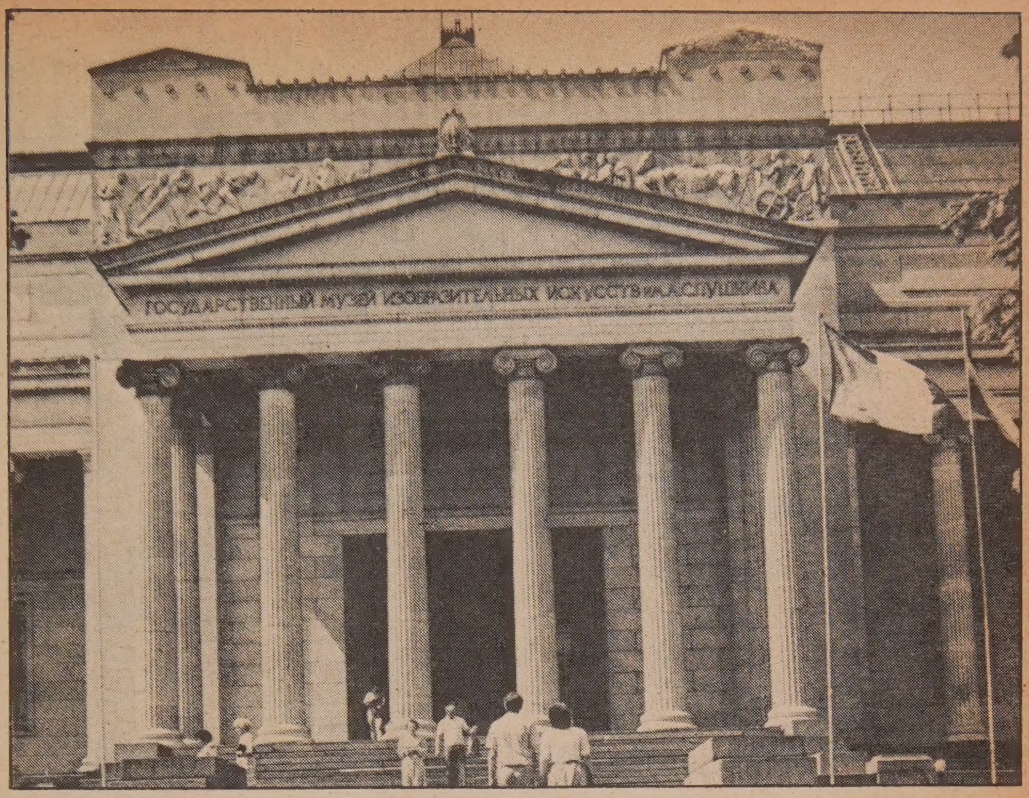


Pushkin Museum 75 years old

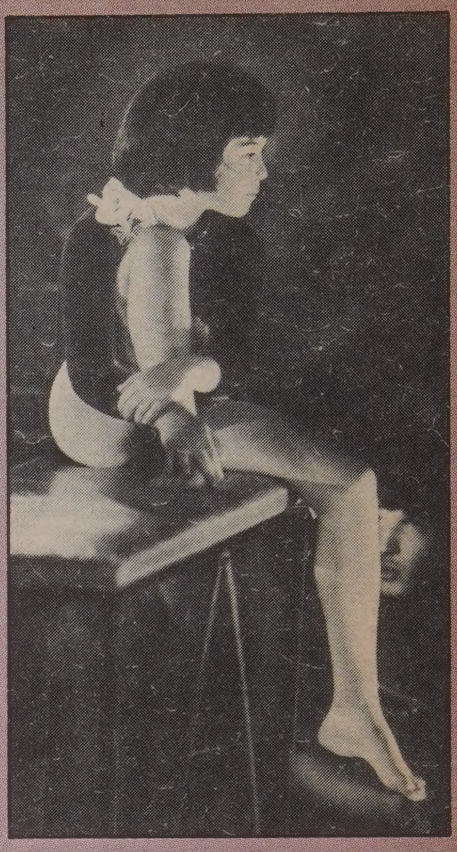
The Museum of Fine Arts (as the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts was known before 1932) first flung its doors open to the public on the sunny day of May 31, 1912, to the singing of 700 choir-boys.

Professor Ivan Tsvetayev, its founder, had given 25 years of his life to enlisting public support for his idea of building classical art museum.

The museum had been conceived as a centre of aesthetic and art education and enlightenment. Today it comprises three main sections: with works of antique art, paintings and black-and-white works on display, respectively. The museum boasts nearly half a million exhibits. Its picture gallery is graced by a fine collection of impressionist paintings.

The museum draws more than a million visitors a year. Exhibitions—chiefly international ones arranged as part of cultural exchange with museums in various parts of the world—are held there regularly. Incidentally, the exhibition called "Russia—France. The Age of Enlightenment" is now on at the Pushkin Museum. It includes a copy of "Marat" by Jacques-Louis David (bottom left) and "Prodigal Son" by Jean-Baptiste Greuze.

Photos by A. Kostin and V. Panov



Togetherness.

Concentration does it.

A little girl under the big top.

Vasily Korneyev

(U.S.S.R.)

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MAN AND MANKIND

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